NEW MASSES

JULY 13, 1943 15¢ in Canada 20¢

Can Communists and Non-Communists Unite?

An Exchange of Letters Between

MAX LERNER and A. B. MAGIL

CHRONICLE OF THE KLAN SPIRIT

A Review of Gustavus Myers' "History of Bigotry"

By SAMUEL SILLEN

CHINA: SEVEN HEROIC YEARS

By FREDERICK V. FIELD

Also in This Issue: *Colonel T., Sasha Molodchy, Morris Schappes, Bruce Minton, Joy Davidman, William Gropper.*

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

IN A PREVIOUS issue we extended our editorial welcome to those two distinguished guests in our land from the Soviet Union—Moscow Councilman Prof. Solomon Michoels, chairman of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee of the USSR, and Lt. Col. Itzik Feffer, the beloved Jewish Soviet poet.

In an early issue, next week we hope, you will learn a lot about them and their work in a comprehensive article in these pages. Meanwhile, we know those of you who are New Yorkers will attend the big meeting Thursday night, July 8, at 7 o'clock in New York's Polo Grounds, which will pay tribute to these two outstanding Soviet citizens.

You may take for granted that the Wilhelmstrasse will understand this great occasion for what it is: An American testimonial to our valiant Soviet ally, and a resounding rebuff that will be heard the world over to barbaric Nazi anti-Semitism and racism.

IT'S nice, isn't it, to come back to the green fields and the little houses of your childhood village. Each tree holds a memory, each windowpane holds the shadowy reflection of the face of the boy you once were. The river, always new and always the same, runs under the familiar bridge, and when you look over the railing you can see, motionless in the water, the same little fish you used to angle for. The fields of wheat have not changed, nor the sound of wind in them.

But Sholokhov came home, and the fields were black, and the houses were blackened and broken like stumps of ruined teeth. There were no windowpanes, and there were no living faces, and even memory could not find its way home through what was left of the Don steppes. If he looked down from the shattered bridge, he might have seen, motionless in the water, the body of a woman he used to know. And the wind in the charred stubble whispered, "*Niemets!*"—the German.

That was what the great Russian novelist saw in the country of his childhood, that and something more—the avenging return of the Red Army. He put it into a book, *They Fought For Their Country*. Forthcoming issues of NEW MASSES will print a chapter from this novel, which has not yet been released. Here, and here alone, you may see what Sholokhov saw; you may learn to know intimately the men and women who are defeating Hitler. We think you will find it as stirring as the diary of Sasha Molodchy, which we shall continue to publish.

This is what one reader thinks of Molodchy's diary:

"I'm putting all of Sasha Molodchy's writings in a special scrapbook. That big Russian boy with his laughing eyes seems to stand for the essential meaning of this war. Iron resolve to crush the enemy—he has that, as his record shows; but he also has the joy of life, the human warmth and kindliness of a free people."

Several readers have already expressed an interest in the analysis we promised, by Joy Davidman, of poetry's function in this war. Some of them write us protesting the pedantic and obscure style of composition in vogue among too many poets. How can poetry really speak directly to the people? We'd be grateful for your opinions. For instance, how about poems on the air?

And did you hear WNYC's "Freedom Workshop" program, last Sunday, which featured Alexandra Ivanova's letter to Ruth McKenney? Alexandra, you remember, is the Russian guerrilla girl who, on her twenty-third birthday, lay in the bushes and watched the German tanks roll across her country. She received, and enjoyed, a package from America. She had a sweet tooth. She was going behind the enemy lines again soon, and didn't expect to live long. The WNYC program included her letter, Ruth McKenney's answer, and Joseph North's comment on both, all three printed in NEW MASSES about six months ago.

WE'D like to take this opportunity of thanking our readers for remembering that we still need nearly $10,000 to get us out of the hole. Although the fund drive is officially finished, our bills aren't. Some friends out on the West Coast thought of that awhile ago. They threw a party and had a wonderful time—dance, laughter, song, and pooled ration points. And we got eighty-seven dollars collected at the party in our morning's mail. Let's have some more parties like that one—we enjoy them just as much as you do!

AND B.K. writes from New Hampshire: "Once a week I reel in my fishing line, pick up my oars, and row across the lake to the combination grocery-drug store which also acts as post office for this neck of the woods. There my copy of NEW MASSES is waiting for me. I've formed the habit of opening it there and then, sitting down and sucking on a coke while I read it. A couple of local farmers got interested in the cover of the special Soviet issue the other day, and the result was a lively discussion of the Soviet Union and its value as our ally. People up here are eager for information on the Soviet, beginning to realize how good it must be. The upshot was, I gave one of the farmers my copy of NM before I'd had a chance to read it through myself. He was back this week with three more people. Some of the boys expressed a desire to subscribe to the magazine, and I'm sending you the names of four potential subscribers in this neighborhood."

Thanks, B.K., and we hope the fish are biting. You have a good idea there. Perhaps our other readers know guys who always borrow their copy of NM, who say they'd like to subscribe, but haven't time to make contact? Send us their names and addresses, and we'll do the contacting. Once an NM borrower, eventually an NM subscriber—why not now?

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CAN COMMUNISTS AND NON-COMMUNISTS UNITE?

AN EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN MAX LERNER and A. B. MAGIL

DEAR Max Lerner: A nationwide discussion is now under way concerning the dissolution of the Communist International. If this discussion is to be most fruitful, I think it ought to take place not only among those who agree, but among those who in the past have disagreed. Hence this letter. You happen to be one of the molders of liberal thought in our country. During the Nazi-Soviet pact, though you were critical of the pact and supported the war from the beginning—a position which I did not share—you did not, unlike certain other writers in the liberal press, Red-bait, or nurse throbbing wounds of disillusionment. And your thinking was sufficiently grounded in reality to have led you to write almost a year before the Nazi invasion of Russia that the Soviet Union was our potential ally, along with the British Commonwealth, China, and Latin America. It is because I feel that to you and to others like you the end of the Comintern presents an opportunity for constructive leadership that I write these words. Such leadership is all the more urgent today in view of what is happening on the home front: the obstructionism and outright treason, the provocative strikes and carefully nurtured race conflicts, the congressional conspiracies and journalistic vendettas that are harassing the administration's war program and seeking to impede decisive military action.

In a letter to the New York *Times*, Earl Browder has offered the services of the Communist Party to help lay the "specter of Communism." Obviously this can't be a one-way affair. It is, as Browder says, "a common task of this people's war of national liberation." I need not remind you that anti-Communism has been the chief political and psychological weapon of Hitler in his war of extermination against all peoples, or that it has been the club with which Hitler's American imitators like Martin Dies have sought to terrorize and shatter the progressive forces of our country. The question of liquidating not merely the Comintern, but anti-Communism, is therefore a question of vast importance both for the war and the peace. Though the *Times* replied to Browder's offer with invective and the counter-proposal that the Communist Party dissolve, I don't think the American people can afford any such lightminded answer. And certainly I don't think the labor movement and the progressives, who have themselves been the victims of the Communist bugaboo, can afford it. For all of us who work for an anti-fascist victory and a democratic peace the death of the Comintern is a challenge to rid our thought and action of obsolete prejudice and passion and boldly to grasp the new opportunities presented to us.

THE tragedy of American liberalism since the downfall of the Spanish republic is not only that it has been in retreat —this need not necessarily be disastrous— but that so many of its authoritative spokesmen have been unable to distinguish their own weapons from the enemy's and have thereby come perilously close to turning the retreat into a rout. They have allowed Martin Dies to drive them into the blind alley of anti-Communism and they have sought refuge from their own disillusionment in the corrosive cynicism and puny hatreds of the Social Democrats and the Trotskyites. Over three years ago, in the seventy-fifth anniversary issue of the *Nation*, you wrote of "the sense of aloneness that has come to hundreds of thousands of progressives scattered over the country, young and old, in every walk of life, the terrifying sense of being left intellectually rootless, emotionally homeless." It is a sense of aloneness that has come, it seems to me, as a result of isolation from the most constructive forces in the labor movement, of estrangement from the country that for twenty-five years has stood at the head of world progress and culture, the Soviet Union. It is the sharp aloneness that comes from the friendship of the David Dubinskys and Sidney Hooks.

A. B. Magil

The involvement of the Soviet Union in the global conflict, with its magnificent vindication of the new life that has flowered under socialism and the liberating impulse it has given to the entire war, has for many progressives broken through the iron walls of doubt and despair and united them with the vital and creative forces of our country. For others, however, the transformation of the war has brought no important change. They have lost faith in the life around them and in themselves. They cling to the barren rock of their own disenchantment, nursing the sense of frustration and futility that one finds so often these days in the pages of the *New Republic*. I will venture a diagnosis that you may not agree with. It is that this loss of self-confidence, this bitter pessimism, is the price exacted by Martin Dies and the other architects of the political and intellectual black terror. It is the reflex of that fear of Communism which Hitler has used to paralyze the will of entire classes.

You are one of those who have not been engulfed by bitterness and defeatism. That is why today you are in a position to lead in discovering new roots and a new emotional home for those who have lost the old ones. It is my conviction that by helping to purge America of the Communist bogey, American liberals will purge themselves of frustration and drift. It is not a question of repudiating the past, but of

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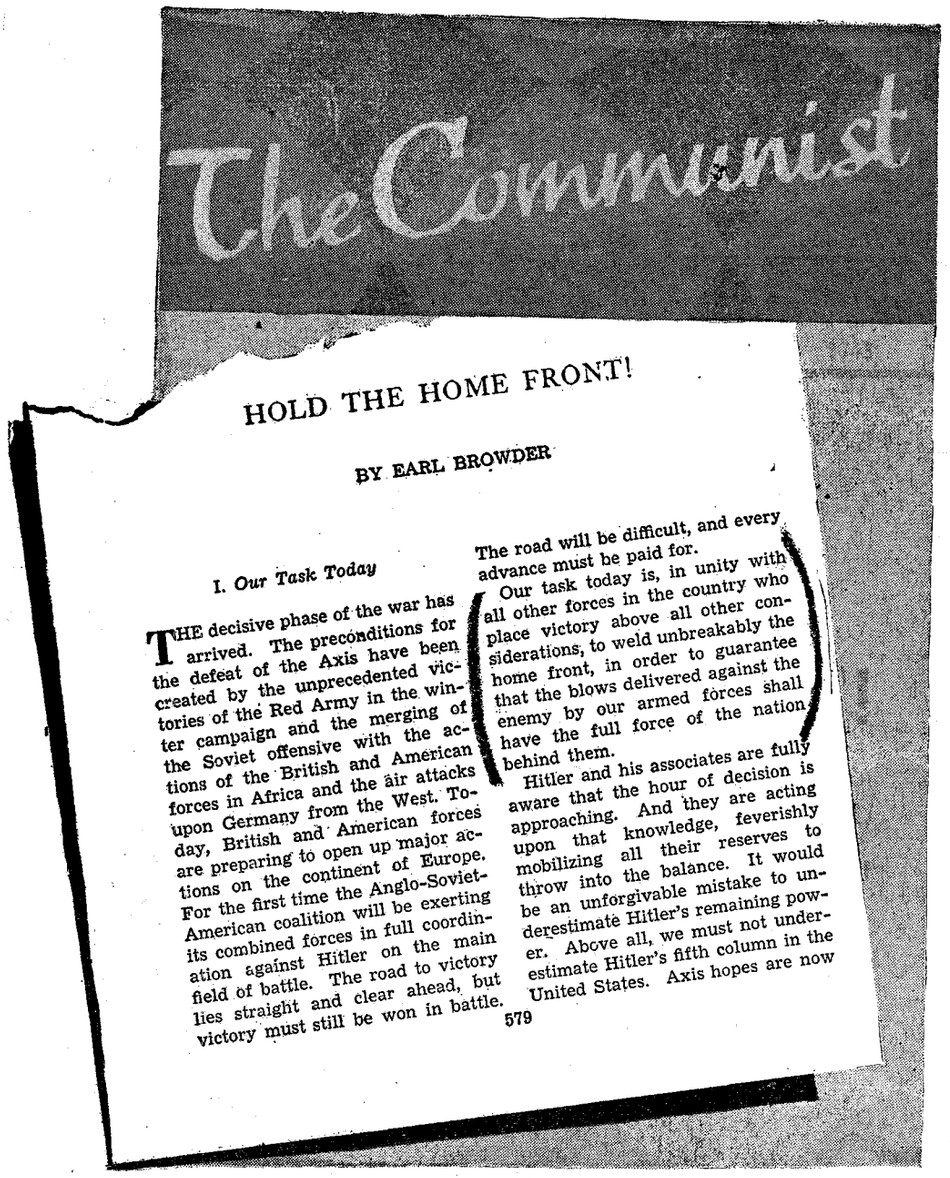

The Communist

HOLD THE HOME FRONT!

BY EARL BROWDER

I. *Our Task Today*

THE decisive phase of the war has arrived. The preconditions for the defeat of the Axis have been created by the unprecedented victories of the Red Army in the winter campaign and the merging of the Soviet offensive with the actions of the British and American forces in Africa and the air attacks upon Germany from the West. Today, British and American forces are preparing to open up major actions on the continent of Europe. For the first time the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition will be exerting its combined forces in full coordination against Hitler on the main field of battle. The road to victory lies straight and clear ahead, but victory must still be won in battle. The road will be difficult, and every advance must be paid for.

Our task today is, in unity with all other forces in the country who place victory above all other considerations, to weld unbreakably the home front, in order to guarantee that the blows delivered against the enemy by our armed forces shall have the full force of the nation behind them.

Hitler and his associates are fully aware that the hour of decision is approaching. And they are acting upon that knowledge, feverishly mobilizing all their reserves to throw into the balance. It would be an unforgivable mistake to underestimate Hitler's remaining power. Above all, we must not underestimate Hitler's fifth column in the United States. Axis hopes are now

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This call for unity to win the war, by the general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, is from his report to the Party's National Committee at its meeting last month, a report published in the July issue of the magazine "The Communist." It is only one instance of the American Communists' whole-hearted devotion to their country's fight against fascism.

transcending it, of turning from sterile feuds and rancors to effective participation in the great tasks of our time.

Most American progressives and, in fact, the public as a whole have been quick to grasp the immediate implications for the Axis and for the anti-Axis nations of the Comintern dissolution. You yourself noted them in *PM*, the *New Republic*, and in your Town Meeting of the Air debate with Louis Fischer. The dissolution is, in truth, as you phrase it, "a weapon in the war." The question remains whether we shall know how to use that weapon most effectively. For though the Comintern is dead, it is evident that many of the prejudices that fed on it survive—not so vigorously as before, yet capable of doing considerable harm. I must confess I was disappointed in your articles in *PM* (May 23) and the *New Republic* (June 7), disappointed that your approach was not as positive as that of some others—Freda Kirchwey and Ralph Bates in the *Nation*, for example—disappointed that, despite your recognition of the greater possibilities for unity that have now been opened, you still clung to misconceptions which may obscure the fullness of those possibilities or the steps required to take advantage of them. I have no doubt that these misconceptions are shared in one form or another by many American liberals. I want to talk about them frankly with you because, while they will probably recede with the passing of time, they act today as obstacles to that larger unity which we all desire and which the country critically needs.

Your comments on the abolition of the Comintern pivot on the premise that the Comintern was a mere creature of the Soviet government and that the individual Communist Parties are likewise nothing but outposts of Russian foreign policy, without roots in the life of their own countries. In referring to the congress in 1919 which founded the Communist International you write in the *New Republic:*

"Lenin and his fledgling proletarian state were beating back one armed intervention after another: what more effective idea could he have had than to create Communist Parties in Europe and America to rally the proletariat of other countries to the defense of the Soviet Union?" And when the leaders of the Comintern, in announcing its proposed dissolution, state that this "organizational form for uniting the workers" has outlived itself, you tell the readers of *PM:* "Translated, this means that the *Russian* leaders have come to see that the game was no longer worth the candle." [My emphasis—A.B.M.]

I am surprised that so careful and informed a writer as yourself should have summed up the relations among the Comintern, the Communist Parties, and the Soviet Union in so crude and inaccurate a formula. An examination of the history of the period that led up to their formation will show that neither the Communist International nor the individual Communist Parties were created by the Soviet government. Politically, the Comintern was born three years before the Bolshevik Revolution. With the outbreak of the war and the collapse of the Second International, not only the Bolsheviks, but dissident anti-war Socialists in other countries began to move toward the constitution of some new international center to unite their efforts. This led in 1915 to the holding of an international conference at Zimmerwald, Switzerland, called at the initiative of the Italian Socialist Party and attended by representatives of Socialist parties or opposition groups from a dozen countries. Though the left wing of the conference, led by the Bolsheviks, urged a more forthright attack on the Social Democratic leaders who had betrayed Socialism, it joined in supporting the Zimmerwald manifesto which denounced the war and called on the workers of all countries to struggle against it. This manifesto was later endorsed in a referendum of its membership by the American Socialist Party. American Socialist delegates also participated in the third conference of the Zimmerwald movement in 1917. Thus in the years immediately prior to the Bolshevik Revolution, Socialist groups and parties from practically all the belligerent countries, as well as several neutrals, set up an international center based on a unified attitude toward the overriding issue of the war.

You must know that it was the Zimmerwald Left, which grew out of the larger Zimmerwald group, that became the nucleus of the Communist International. A study of the events of that time and of the writings of Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, and other left wing Socialists

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leaves no doubt that *there would have been a Communist International even if there had been no Soviet Union.* Naturally, the victory of socialism in Russia accelerated the process that had been under way for some time (it had, in fact, begun long before the war): the organic separation of the Marxists from the opportunists in the international Socialist movement which, in turn, led to the crystallization of Communist Parties out of the breakup of the old Social Democratic organizations and the establishment of a new coordinating and guiding center, the Communist International.

Now that the Comintern has become obsolete and new instruments for uniting the peoples of the world are being fashioned, it is easy to overlook the indispensable role that it played. In your recent debate with Louis Fischer—in which, incidentally, you discussed the Comintern dissolution in a much more positive way than you did in *PM* and the *New Republic*—you said that the Comintern from the very beginning "was a force splitting the unity of progressive and labor movements, of liberal thought and action and passion right down the middle." Evidently, this was no casual remark an your part, for in your *PM* and *New Republic* pieces you repeated it. Yet at one time you seemed to place the blame for the split in the labor and progressive movements elsewhere. In your book *It Is Later Than You Think*—a good book whose strength has hardly diminished with the passing of time—you wrote of "the German sailors and workers who took things in their own hands in 1918 and might have built a new Germany if the formal 'leaders'—the Noskes and Eberts—had not taken over." Think what this would have meant for the world if those German sailors and workers had not been suppressed by the Social Democratic Noskes and Eberts! It was for this new Germany, for a democratic change in every country at a time when reaction, backed by Social Democracy, dominated the capitalist governments, that the Comintern fought. In evaluating the Comintern today, I don't think we ought to be numbed by the terrifying words "world revolution" into forgetting the rich contribution of its pioneer days. Nor ought we to forget its later period when it helped organize the fight against fascism under the banner of the people's front.

The individual Communist Parties were likewise products of the labor movements of their respective countries. Take, for example, the American party. Lenin didn't create it—though he helped. So did Karl Marx. So did Gene Debs, who died a Socialist. So did—by negative example—Noske and Ebert and Morris Hillquit. The American Communist Party is a direct outgrowth of the Socialist Party. You will recall that the membership of that party compelled the adoption in April 1917—seven months before the birth of the Soviets—of a resolution opposing the war. And that same membership two years later voted three to one to participate in the first Congress of the Communist International. When the right wing leaders in control of the party machinery, ignoring the will of the majority, launched a campaign of mass expulsions, the left wing set up a new organization, the Communist Party (at first there were actually two Communist Parties), which also attracted to it militant elements in the IWW and the AFL. In this necessarily telescoped form I am trying to establish a fact which ought to be common knowledge: that the origins of the American Communist Party were indigenous, rooted in the struggles and traditions of the American labor movement. Of course, the party was influenced by developments in other countries—what party isn't?—and especially by the flood-tide of socialism in Russia. The party has been strengthened, its contribution to American life enriched by these influences.

Do I LABOR the obvious? I wish it were true that all this was as obvious and as widely known as it should be. But if a Max Lerner can accept the legend that the Communist Parties and the Comintern were Moscow inventions (thereby implying that Communists bear the stigma of "foreign agents,") I shudder to think what others may believe.

But, you may say, granted that the Comintern and the Communist Parties had an authentic and independent origin, isn't it true that they were quickly converted into purely Russian appendages, taking their orders from Moscow? Let me answer in the following way. Every organization, whether it is a social club or the United Nations, must have leaders. In the Second International the most influential party was the German because for years it was the strongest and most mature. In the Third International what more natural and necessary than that the most influential party should likewise be the one which was strongest and most mature, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, particularly since it had already led its own people to socialism? That revolutionary leadership would shift from Germany to Russia was noted as far back as 1902 by Karl Kautsky and welcomed as a salutary influence for other countries.

There is, of course, a very real distinction between leadership and dictatorship. The record of the early congresses of the Comintern reveals that sharp differences of opinion arose and that these were resolved by majority decision of the delegates among whom the Russians were a small minority. The ideas of the Russians, however, usually won majority support because they were sound ideas, derived from a wealth of experience such as no other party possessed. That is leadership. At times in the early years overzealous non-Russian Communists, or on occasion even the Comintern as such attempted mechanically to transplant Russian experience and methods to other countries. Lenin and his close associates always opposed this tendency. In a speech at the fourth Congress in 1922 Lenin criticized a resolution adopted at the third Congress because "it is almost thoroughly Russian, that is to say, every-

Members of the Mexican Communist Party parade with all other anti-Hitler groups in Mexico City this past May Day. The banner slogan reads, "Down with the Nazi terror."

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Gropper

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thing is taken from Russian conditions"; the resolution, he insisted, was "a big mistake." In contrast to such occasional mistakes was the positive guidance given by the Comintern to Communist Parties that were young and unseasoned, guidance in the spirit of adapting international experience to specific national conditions. And with the ripening of the parties, non-Russians came to the fore as the Comintern's leaders, men like Dimitroff of Bulgaria, Kuusinen of Finland, Pieck of Germany, Ercoli of Italy, and Marty of France. I see no reason for the Communists of any country to apologize for the fact that for many years they learned from the Russian Communists. Today millions of people of diverse political and religious beliefs are learning from them.

You speak of "Communist dual allegiance," by which you refer to the fact that the Communist Parties have uniformly supported the policies of the Soviet government. I take it you do not mean that they have duplicated in detail every tactic of the Soviet Union. In the days when Soviet representatives at international conferences were proposing complete disarmament, not a single Communist Party, as far as I can recall, included disarmament in its program. During the Nazi-Soviet pact the Soviet press refrained from criticizing the Nazis. It was observing the rules of diplomatic etiquette. No such restraints existed in the Communist press of other countries. It is, however, true that in relation to principles, objectives, and broad lines of policy the Communist Parties have consistently supported the USSR. I think that is very much to their credit. It is evidence that they have remained loyal to the best interests of their own countries and to those principles of international solidarity which were axiomatic in the working class movement before Lenin was ever born. The unity of the workers of all lands is at the very core of socialist thought and action and has been affirmed by working class political parties for nearly a hundred years. So patently sensible and realistic was this principle, that a non-Socialist like Abraham Lincoln subscribed to it when he told a delegation of workingmen: "The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relationship, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations and tongues and kindreds."

There was no Soviet Union in 1864, but the provisional rules adopted by the International Workingmen's Association (First International), most of whose affiliated organizations were non-Marxist, declared that "the questions of general interest mooted in one society [should] be ventilated by all and that when immediate practical steps should be needed, as, for instance, *in case of international quarrels, the action of the associated societies be simultaneous and uniform.*" [My emphasis—A.B.M.] We Americans have particular reason to feel grateful for this internationalist spirit, for it was the protest movement of the English workers, a movement in which Karl Marx played a leading role, that was largely instrumental in preventing the reactionary British government from entering the Civil War on the side of the Confederacy. Were those workers guilty of dual allegiance—taking orders from Washington?

The Second International was likewise based on the principle of international unity of action of labor. And it articulated that principle in regard to the specific question of impending imperialist war at its Stuttgart Congress in 1907, reaffirming it at the Copenhagen and Basle Congresses in 1910 and 1912, only to betray it when the actual test came two years later. Surely all this is known to you who have more than once expressed your belief in democratic socialism. Why, then, should it be regarded as diabolical that the various Communist Parties have on the basis of their common Marxist outlook arrived at common conclusions regarding fundamental questions? Is it because in one country socialism has ceased to be an aspiration and become a reality? It would be strange indeed if the establishment of socialism in any country should automatically nullify the principle which is its very life-blood.

But, it may be argued, in the case of the Soviet Union it is not a simple question of solidarity with the workers of another country, but of active support of another government whose interests may run counter to the interests of our own. If one recognizes, as I am certain you do, that socialism is different from capitalism, I don't think it can be said that the USSR is just "another government." The record of that government in the sphere of foreign relations since its inception is the best evidence to the contrary. Long before the Russian Revolution, Socialists believed that the abolition of capitalism anywhere would eradicate the forces that make for conflict with other nations. Why, then, shouldn't Communists act on the assumption that Soviet policy, since it no longer represents the predatory designs of private capital, is in harmony with the real interests of all other peoples? And hasn't it been shown that those Americans who pursued a hostile course toward the USSR were working against the interests of our country? To deduce from the absence of conflict between the policies of the Soviet government and those of the various Communist Parties that an unnatural connection exists is to adopt a position that would, if applied today to the relations between Russia and other countries, make discord among them the condition for accepting the legitimacy of those relations. That would hardly be the best foundation on which to build a viable peace.

Consider where all this leads you. In your *New Republic* article you write: "The English workers who in 1920 refused to load munitions and supplies for the White armies in Russia were the first important instance of how the International could be used at once as an instrument of world revolution and of Soviet policy." Now, do you really think those English workers should not have refused to load munitions and should have helped the White armies crush the New Soviet republic? Do you think they would then have been better English patriots? I'm sure you don't. In that case does that make you too "an instrument of world revolution and of Soviet policy"?

The idea that a people's government in any country is the ally of the peoples of all countries didn't originate in Moscow. It isn't even an exclusively socialist idea—you'll find it, for example, in Jefferson. And when Jefferson supported the revolutionary people's government of France, not only did this not conflict with loyalty to his own country, but as events proved, the friends of France were the best patriots of America. Today we scorn the reactionary charge of dual allegiance made against Jefferson and his followers in their own day. No more were the editors of the *Nation* and *New Republic* guilty of dual allegiance when they criticized their own government and supported Soviet Russia during the imperialist intervention of 1918-21—or the Communist Party when it supported the Soviet Union during the Nazi-Soviet pact. Rather we have here that fusion of progressive nationalism and internationalism which must be the spiritual home of civilized man.

I like very much what you wrote on this question of nationalism and internationalism in your reply to President Conant of Harvard in *PM* of May 31. "The truth is that nativism is as dangerous a movement in political thought as in political action. Jefferson himself, although he hated monarchical Europe, was a devotee of the French Revolution. Emerson and Thoreau despised a narrow nationalism and counted themselves citizens of the world. . . . The death of the Comintern should be a step in clearing the ground. Let us not be frightened at the semantic terrors of the word 'radical.' And let us define 'American' broadly enough so as to include the social experience of Europe, and not make us into a closed country hostile to ideas from the outside and clinging foolishly to its own errors."

I COME now to the most important question of all: the future relations of Communists and non-Communists. In your *PM* editorial on the Comintern dissolution you wrote that "the Communist Party in our own country has a chance now to become truly independent, in fact as well as form." This was one of the things which you felt made possible "some sort of unity among labor and progressive groups." I

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George Dimitroff: hero of the Leipzig trial who gave the Nazis plenty to think about again when he and his colleagues proposed the Comintern dissolution.

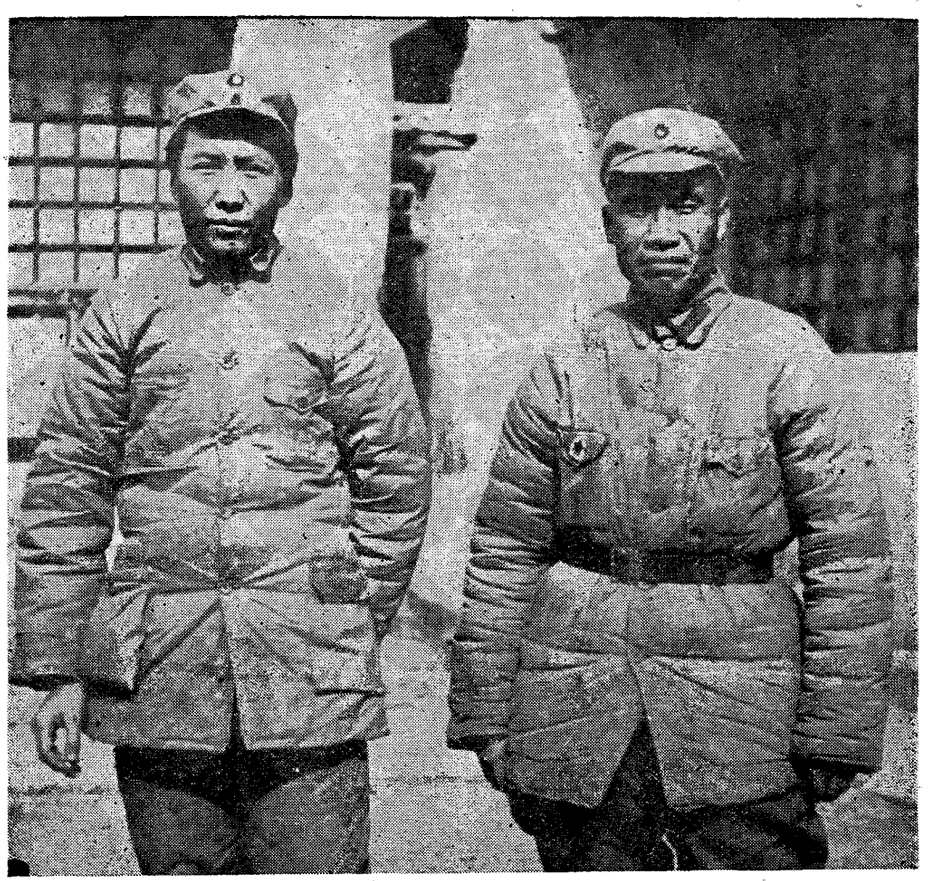
think you are mistaken in regarding the Communist Party as not previously independent, but at any rate you grasped the central fact that the past was a closed chapter and a new one needed to be opened that would include the party in a broad labor and progressive unity. This seems to me eminently constructive. I don't know what changed your mind when you got around to writing your article for the *New Republic*. There you predict, on the one hand, that "the ruling groups of the national Communist Parties" will oppose all change, and, on the other, that the American party may "try to assume a new face and form." You foresee the party eventually dissolving itself and only then "joining in unity with a new national political grouping." And you paint a most curious picture of the American party now yielding to "the internal struggles for control, which have been hitherto suppressed by the Comintern." Someone has evidently sold you a bill of goods. With all due respect for your knowledge of the American scene, you have been less than just to yourself in this unjust parody of the way in which the Communist Party functions.

But the important thing is that even here you believe it eventually possible to collaborate with Communists. My plea is that our country can't afford to wait, or to make such collaboration conditional on the party's dissolution. It can't afford it, first, because today the party represents an organized force working for victory, a force whose specific gravity in the war effort greatly exceeds its numerical mass; and second, because *so long as Communists are outside the pale, the poison of anti-Communism, which has sapped national unity and debilitated progressive action, will not be expelled from the national bloodstream.* Apart from the positive contribution that the Communists can make, their recognition as a legitimate current in American democratic life and collaboration with them for common purposes is an elementary measure of political health necessary both for the war and the peace. Justice Murphy's far-reaching majority opinion in the Schneiderman case provides all of us with a potent new weapon to destroy the myths about Communism which have served the fascists so well. Technically, the opinion makes no decision regarding the Communist Party today. But by holding that in 1927 the party's program was not incompatible with attachment to the principles of the Constitution and that "a tenable conclusion . . . is that the party in 1927 desired to achieve its purpose by peaceful and democratic means," the opinion morally takes the ground from under the Biddle ruling in the Bridges case, the activities of the Dies committee, and Red-baiting within the labor and progressive movements.

The Comintern dissolution and the Supreme Court opinion provide an unparalleled opportunity to take the offensive at home and abroad. Broad, aggressive, all-inclusive unity is particularly urgent to combat the attempts being made to paralyze the home front by strikes, race conflict, and congressional sabotage. The Communists, as you know, have subordinated all other questions to the winning of the war. To reject their energy and loyalty in this critical hour is to weaken America and the United Nations.

I know how deeply concerned you are about the postwar world. I share your concern, though I am perhaps more optimistic than you about the chances of assuring the dominance of progressive influences when the war is over. But that won't come of itself. There is no doubt that once the common danger which has bound the United Nations together has passed, divisive forces will grow more active both among the Allies and within each country. I know of no better way of making certain that our country plays a progressive role in the peace than by cleansing it of every vestige of the Communist bugaboo and fashioning a unity of labor and of all progressives that is tough and militant.

I HAVE dealt perhaps at too great length with the past. I have done so in order to eliminate it as an obstacle to the present. I have tried to consider these matters not with the idea of scoring points in an intellectual boxing bout, but in a spirit of frank discussion with the hope that it might in a



Mao Tse-Tung, Chinese Communist leader, and General Chu-Teh, commander of the Eighth National Army of China. The Communist armies of China (the Eighth and the New Fourth) have been foremost in their country's fight against the Japanese invaders.

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modest way contribute to breaking down the barriers of suspicion and distrust that now divide those who should stand and fight together. I don't regard my side in this discussion as infallible. Let me say that while I am convinced of the rightness of the Nazi-Soviet pact and the Finnish war and the course of the American Communist Party prior to June 22, 1941, I would not necessarily stand by every syllable I wrote in expressing this conviction. NEW MASSES did splendid service in that period and championed American-Soviet collaboration when it was not very popular to do so, but it is my personal opinion that the magazine erred in treating the war too statically, in overlooking the progressive national elements which, while definitely subordinate to the imperialist elements in the first phase of the conflict, were the germs of a basic transformation. Lenin in the very thick of the first imperialist war took into consideration such national elements and even projected the hypothetical conditions under which that war might assume a progressive character. We of NEW MASSES erred also, I think, in closing our minds to the possibility of the involvement of the Soviet Union and failing to envisage what this would mean for the war as a whole. These are failures of emphasis and calculation, not of basic direction. I don't yield an inch of the fundamental ground on which we stood, a position which I feel events have thoroughly vindicated.

But I don't think it is at all essential that we see eye to eye on these questions of the past. All that is necessary is that we do not permit the past to govern the present. The imperatives of the war and the peace press upon us all. There is a crisis in our country, a crisis menacing the whole future. Its solution needs the riveted strength of all who stand for unconditional surrender of the forces that planned and precipitated this world catastrophe. I hope you will agree.

A. B. MAGIL.

MR. LERNER'S REPLY

DEAR MAGIL: I am not going to answer your letter in detail. There are dozens of value judgments in it—of personalities, publications, movements—that I do not share. I hope you do not construe my silence about them as an agreement. Our world is moving too swiftly, from Alaska to Africa, from New Guinea to Russia, to allow for the luxury of such trivia as the stock NEW MASSES pot-shots at the *New Republic*. Too swiftly, indeed, for anything except for an examination of the broad principles that must guide thought and action.

Let me start by saying I am glad you wrote your letter. I do not say this as an amenity. The City of Man is, even after our victory, likely to continue a beleaguered city, surrounded on all sides by the enemies of the human spirit. The groups within it nurse bitter memories of past wrongs and injuries inflicted by each other. For one of the defenders to extend to another the hand of even qualified unity in a common cause is a brave gesture and a deep symbol. I believe in gestures and I live by symbols.

BUT I fear your letter offers little basis for common action. So much of it is concerned with what seems to me an arid ground—a re-traversing of the familiar apologia for the Comintern. I do not say defense of the Comintern: for the Comintern as a historic fact was what it was and needs no defense. But to apologize for it elaborately by dressing it up as something it was not, seems questionable.

The sum of the first three-quarters of your letter is that the Comintern has not been the creature and engine of the Soviet Union, and that the Communist Parties have been free and autonomous entities, acting on their own and without any dual allegiance. If that is true, then what difference does the dissolution of the Comintern make? Earl Browder's first reported comment on the news of the dissolution was, indeed, that it made no difference. The Party's second thought was that it was a great historic event. And your letter suffers, along with other Communist utterances, in trying to commute between these two universes of discourse. You may answer that the Comintern had no hold over the national parties, but that the naive and the vicious thought it did: hence its dissolution was a historic event. But if you do, you reduce the whole history of the Comintern to an exercise in semantics, a shadow without substance, a sort of typographical error in the consciousness of our time. If, on the other hand, you say that the Comintern did amount to something, and that its dissolution did therefore make a difference—in a substantive and not merely in a semantic way—then the whole finespun rhetorical web of your letter takes on a ghostly unreality.

I submit therefore that, in logic, the position I took in my *New Republic* article, "After the Comintern," and in my other writings and statements, makes sense: that in its origin the Comintern was both a revolutionary instrument and a means of strength and safety for Russia; that in time the first function was sloughed off and the second became converted into an instrument of Russian foreign policy; that in the popular anti-Communist mind it still remained a revolutionary symbol, with negative emotional reference; and that its dissolution can therefore help us win the war and also give the Communist Parties a chance to find their best native national functions.

Max Lerner

YOU have tried to torture and confine my meaning by imputing to me a thesis I never held—that the Comintern and the Communist Parties were from the start *only* instruments of the Soviet Union. I never said that. Hence your elaborate historical discourse is irrelevant. Zimmerwald and the Zimmerwald Left were a nucleus for an international movement, to be sure. But it was Lenin who converted that nucleus into the Comintern; and later tensions and needs converted it into what it became. You say there would have been a new International without the Russian Revolution. Perhaps. That is a barren form of conjectural history. But I add that whatever country Communism was first established in would then have proceeded to use its Comintern much as Russia did. You say that the Comintern had a creative function in its pioneer days, and you instance what the German Revolution might have turned into. I agree: that was part of Lenin's first dream and first effort. My historical sympathies are therefore with Liebknecht and Luxemburg rather than with Noske and Ebert, with the English workers who refused to load materials to send against Russia rather than with those who sought to crush the Russian Revolution. But that phase of the effort failed. The dream of world revolution became a nightmare of repression. If you want the reasons, you will still find them in the book of mine you so kindly mention, *It Is Later Than You Think*, in a section called "The Six Errors of Marxism." Among them

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British, Soviet, and American Unity: Winston Churchill, Joseph Stalin, and W. Averill Harriman in conference.

were the underestimate of the tenacity of capitalism, the overestimate of the revolutionary character of the workers, the failure to reckon with the strength of nationalism as a force.

Now for the question of dual allegiance. You say the Communist Parties are of native growth, and you instance the history of the American. Obviously it arose out of past American radical parties and sects. But they had never really taken root in American soil, and the Russian Revolution—while it stirred generous energies here—was not enough to give them such roots. The guidance came from Russia. I do not have to lean for my evidence on the testimony of some of your early leaders who have since left the Party. I go to more sympathetic sources. Pick up *Soviet Communism*, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, which Communists always praise. Read the lengthy and detailed history of the Comintern in Volume Two, and see whether my version is not essentially confirmed. You go on, however, to argue that while the Russians may have dominated the Comintern, it was only through their logic and experience, and that they were a persuasive minority. But the Webbs assert that the money came from them, the jobs were dependent on them, they pulled the strings and the others were puppets. The non-Russians who emerged as leaders were often more Russian than the Russians—as your biting quotation from Lenin shows.

Your feeble attempt to show that the Communist Parties have not always followed the Russian line might better not have been made. You cite the issue of disarmament. I don't know the evidence, but the issue does not seem crucial. But when you say that the American Communists did not stop criticizing the Nazis during the period of the Nazi-Soviet pact you are surely not serious. Your press at the time followed the Soviet line exactly. You attacked the war as imperialist; you ceased criticizing Nazism as Nazism, but your criticism was of Nazi imperialism along with British imperialism; you took on a "plague on both your houses" tone. And your fiercest criticism was reserved for the American administration and for the liberals who supported intervention. We were, you said, the "hollow men." The blood of the American workers, you said, would be on our hands. You took over the slogans of the bitterest isolationists and America Firsters. I remember a Communist song about "plowing the fourth boy under"; and another which was put in the mouth of FDR and which ran (I quote only approximately):

> "I hate war
> and so does Eleanor
> and we won't be satisfied till everyone
> is dead."

I don't say all this with bitterness. I don't say it to rub salt on your wounds, or to make even more unpalatable the crow you must now eat. I should have preferred to leave it unsaid, had you not tried to prove that you were independent of Russian policy during that period.

And this illustrates my basic objection to the intellectual temper of American Communism. You have given hostages to fortune—the fortunes of Russia. You think of American problems, but in terms of Russian answers. For me to say this does not mean that I am anti-international in my thinking. Far from it, as your quotation from my *PM* piece on President Conant shows. Nor does it mean that I am anti-Russian, as I think my writings testify abundantly. It means that the stage of world history into which we are now moving is a stage in which a structure of world order can rest only on healthy nationalisms that are oriented toward a democratic internationalism. You ought really to learn from Russia, which has developed its own nationalism in a lusty way. But the American Communists seem to be unable to do that. They talk American war unity and American patriotism, but it is formal and synthetic stuff. Their hearts are in the highlands with Stalin.

There is nothing incompatible between the nationalism for which I plead and a democratic internationalism. The American progressives saw the menace of Nazism from the beginning; they saw that if democratic labor and the free mind were crushed anywhere in the world, they were endangered in America: in that sense they are the true heirs of Jefferson and Lincoln, in the sentences you quote from them. We will never cease to work for the unity of labor and progressive movements all over the world—as an instrument for world order and for the defense of democracy *in every country*. But we do not focus on Russia alone—on its needs and policies and promise. Those Americans who do are like a neurotic personality whose ego must find its bolstering and focus in someone else, and who is not cured until he has learned to face himself.

This represents my whole approach to the central question you raise: what can we do in America now, after the Comintern, to increase unity on the left? Here you start inauspiciously in your bid for unity by twisting my *PM* and *New Republic* articles

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into a seeming contradiction. In essence my position is consistent and simple. I think the Communists have a new chance. I am not at all sure they will take it. I think they will be pushed by events into assuming a new face and a new form, but I am not sure they will mean it. I am convinced that their only hope is from new stirrings of dissent among their members, new energies from new leaders. I don't see how the old bureaucracy, the old and tired doctrinal spokesmen, can make the movement at once progressive and democratic.

You ask whether Communists and progressives cannot now work together. Everything depends upon the spirit that both sides show. The progressives must drop the bitter hatreds by which many of them are corroded. But the Communists too must work in a different spirit. I set down here four essential broad conditions of change:

First, you must focus on America in a context of internationalism, and not on Russia with the trimmings of American terminology.

Second, you must focus on democracy and the democratic tradition, and on the economic strategies and the political programs for achieving a fuller democracy; and not on Communist control of trade unions and other organizations, and finally on a Communist Party dictatorship.

Third, you must transform your whole intellectual tone. The Communists in America today have no people of stature to whom the young can look up, whether in thought or in political action. They keep talking of Lenin and Stalin: but they bear the same relation to those men as the rump "Jeffersonian Democrats" of today who parrot Jefferson on states' rights bear to the creativeness that Jefferson himself used. Why don't you become once again freely functioning minds, the heirs of all the ages of thought, rather than the doctrinaire exponents of a system that was once alive?

Fourth, you must play fair on a moral level, both with us and with yourselves. This may be the hardest of all, but it is the most crucial. I speak now as a teacher who knows the young people of America. They will not follow any movement whose moral genuineness they question.

THESE conditions are so sweeping, and go so deeply to the root of things, that I will not blame you for interpreting me as saying that for the present unity on the left is impossible. But while it is impossible in integral terms, it is possible and desirable on limited and concrete issues. I agree that a mental climate in America which is focused on Red-baiting is unhealthy: but so also is one that is focused on liberal-baiting. I think we must join on everything that can win the war, but that does not mean to accept the extremism with which the Communists today are hounding labor leaders who do not follow their policy. I think we must join on everything that can guard against the creation of a police-state in America, and toward that unity I welcome the decision in the Schneiderman case.

But even on these *ad hoc* issues there can be no common action unless the Communists cease behaving like a slick Tammany of the left, intent on taking over every organization with which they work, bent on ruling or ruining. This sort of ersatz vigor is no substitute for genuine creativeness.

I CANNOT speak for all the progressives. But I know I express the feelings of a large number when I say that ultimately only a democratic socialism can fulfill the promise of American life. Communism is not that. I do not ask the Communists to dissolve their party. No one has the moral right to ask that. And I shall fight every attempt to ban it—not because I care for the Communists, but because I care for American liberties and do not want totalitarian methods to crush them. But in the long run I regard American Communism as rootless and feckless. All our energies must be channeled toward fulfilling American democracy—that is our dream of home and our hope of Heaven.

The Communists can, if they wish, strike their tents, abandon their impedimenta, and join our march. If they do not, they will find that history has left them behind. MAX LERNER.

[*Please turn to the next page for editorial comment on the exchange of letters between Mr. Lerner and Mr. Magil.*]

United French resistance to Hitler: Underground anti-fascist papers of all political faiths, including the Communist "L'Humanite," continue to appear.

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UNITY: TODAY'S IMPERATIVE

BY THE EDITORS

THE exchange of letters between Max Lerner and A. B. Magil, concerning the implications of the dissolution of the Communist International, inaugurates in NEW MASSES a discussion of problems that bear directly on the whole future of our country. We are inviting the participation of prominent Americans, as well as our readers, in order that there may be as wide and representative an exchange of views as possible. Let it be noted that this is a discussion, not a debate. A discussion can be held only among friends or potential friends. It can be held only where agreements or potential agreements outweigh disagreements. Though it is perhaps inevitable that at the outset past differences should appear to loom large, the central objective must not be lost sight of: the strengthening of American unity for the war and the peace. Today conditions on the home front, which are endangering the whole course of the war, underline that objective with particular force.

It will not come as a surprise to our readers that the views expressed by Mr. Magil are in substance the views of NEW MASSES. Mr. Lerner welcomes Mr. Magil's letter as a gesture of unity in the common cause. And the fact that Mr. Lerner has written a reply and has joined in initiating this discussion in the pages of NEW MASSES is itself a step toward that larger unity which Mr. Magil urges. The discussion is a symbol, and something more. But though Mr. Lerner welcomes the extension of the hand of unity, it is not certain from his letter that he intends to grasp it. In fact, he is at some pains to emphasize differences that are invested with the emotional aura of past controversies and he himself invites the interpretation that "for the present unity on the left is impossible." He, however, adds the qualification that "it is possible and desirable on limited and concrete issues." As we read Mr. Magil's letter, it is precisely such unity around a limited and concrete issue—joint action by Communists and non-Communists to deprive Hitler of his chief political weapon against our country and its allies, anti-Communism—that Mr. Magil urges.

THE struggle against anti-Communism is no more the exclusive concern of the Communists than the struggle against anti-Semitism and anti-Negro incitement is the exclusive concern of Jews and Negroes. All three doctrines are ideological agents of the enemy, which strike at the country as a whole and do not spare even many of those who are infected with these prejudices. The obligation to combat them falls on all Americans, irrespective of race, color, political or religious belief. We therefore regret that in regard to anti-Communism Mr. Lerner has given an unclear and in some respects contradictory answer to the proposal made by Mr. Magil. "I agree," he writes, "that a mental climate in America which is focused on Red-baiting is unhealthy: but so also is one that is focused on liberal-baiting." Perhaps this is only a play on words, for surely Mr. Lerner cannot intend to place "liberal-baiting," by which he presumably means criticism of liberals from the left, on the same plane as reactionary Red-baiting and to regard them as equally dangerous. The only baiting that seriously affects liberals is in fact Red-baiting. The operations of the Dies committee and the witch-hunt against government employes in Washington are ample testimony to that. Liberals cannot avert from themselves the terrors of Red-baiting by gestures of accommodation, as many liberals have discovered from Rep. Jerry Voorhis' participation in the Dies committee. They can avert those terrors only by joining in the fight to exterminate every vestige of the anti-Communist virus. The Comintern dissolution, by eliminating the most potent pretext for anti-Communist ideology, and Justice Murphy's historic opinion in the Schneiderman case, by affirming in effect the democratic aims and methods of the Communist Party, create exceptionally favorable conditions for waging this battle.

MR. LERNER tentatively concedes the possibility of common action on this and other concrete issues, yet his final conclusion seems to be that such action is impossible "unless the Communists cease behaving like a slick Tammany of the left, intent on taking over every organization with which they work, bent on ruling or ruining." That is like setting conditions before agreeing to one's own salvation. Mr. Lerner's estimate of Communist activity has an oppressively familiar ring. We do not think that the many thousands of American workers who have come into contact with real Communists in their trade unions will share it. It will be shared only by those whose knowledge of Communists is limited to the false image which men like John L. Lewis, Matthew Woll, and David Dubinsky have substituted for the real thing. Surely Mr. Lerner, when he repeats these hoary cliches, does not mean to imply that Lewis' friend, Dubinsky, is being democratic and progressive in attempting to build a Labor Party in New York that excludes from its leadership the unions of the CIO with a membership of 500,000, that is dominated in fact by Dubinsky's personal henchmen and a few political fossils from an anti-Soviet sect called the Social Democratic Federation. It is a curious phenomenon that those unions which are most frequently attacked as Communist-controlled, not because they are such in fact, but because they are militant, vigorous and creative, enjoy an internal democracy which puts to shame the unions controlled by the Dubinskys, Wolls, Hutchesons, and Lewises. Mr. Lerner might satisfy himself on this score if he looked into such progressive unions as the National Maritime Union and the Transport Workers Union.

We suggest that it is time to appeal from the mythical Communist Party to the real Communist Party. "There is not and there must not be any special discipline among Communists in the trade unions," said Earl Browder in his report to the recent meeting of the party's National Committee. "The party, of course, will continue to demand of its members their complete adherence to trade union decisions and policies democratically arrived at, as well as the full support of our national war effort, to which everything else must be subordinated." And he warned Communist leaders against any temptation to make commitments for their members in the unions. Anyone is privileged to call Mr. Browder a liar. But that involves the obligation to bring proof—not hearsay or ancient legend—that Communists in trade unions or other organizations are attempting through undemocratic methods to foist their will on the majority.

Mr. Lerner recalls with a trace of bitterness the differences that divided progressives during the German-Soviet pact. It is not clear whether he regards those differences as an unhappy legacy which can never be liquidated and which must continue to be a source of discord in progressive ranks today. We hope not. For our part we see no useful purpose in reviving those obsolete controversies. Mr. Lerner himself has often opposed the stirring up of these issues in relation to Russia because they are divisive. They are no less divisive on the domestic scene. We are content to leave those issues in the lap of history, so to speak, feeling no particular need to underline the growing realization of so many Americans—we suspect they number millions—that they had been badly

(*Continued on page 27*)

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NM SPOTLIGHT

Two Views of "No-Strike"

Two conceptions of labor's attitude toward the war came to grips at the convention of the Michigan state CIO last week. One conception regards victory in the war as labor's overriding interest, requiring the subordination of all other issues. The other looks upon the war either with hostility or as a secondary matter imposing no binding responsibilities on labor. These opposite conceptions are of course not academic abstractions, but represent the forces of victory and of defeat in this people's war. It is heartening therefore that on the whole the first of these conceptions won the upper hand at the convention. This despite the fact that the machinery of the state CIO had been controlled by faction-minded individuals imbued with the second approach to the war. Since the United Automobile Workers, the largest union in the country, is the dominant force in the Michigan CIO, this development ought to have a salutary effect on the course of the UAW. Pres. R. J. Thomas of the UAW, in fact, did yeoman work in rallying the constructive forces at the convention.

With Emil Mazey, Trotskyite, heading the resolutions committee, defeatists, Klan agents, and assorted factionalists made strenuous efforts to put the convention on record in opposition to the program of President Roosevelt and the win-the-war policies of the national CIO. They were beaten when they sought to put through a resolution on the Detroit anti-Negro riots which failed to mention the Klan and other fifth column elements; as finally passed, the resolution branded the instigators of the outbreaks by name. They were also beaten in an attempt to repudiate Pres. Philip Murray of the CIO, and in an effort to put over a Labor Party resolution that would have weakened labor's support of President Roosevelt. This camarilla, however, gained one important victory: a resolution, adopted by a narrow margin after considerable demagogic camouflage of its real nature, recommending to the national CIO and all affiliated unions that "unless assurances made to labor at the time we gave up our right to strike are immediately and effectively put into operation," the no-strike pledge be no longer considered binding.

This resolution, which was actively supported by Victor Reuther of the UAW, views labor's no-strike pledge as a concession made as part of a business deal. It is nothing of the kind. The no-strike pledge is a weapon in the war, in the fight for labor's own fundamental interests as well as the nation's. That weapon labor voluntarily took up. To relinquish it under any circumstances is to help Hitler.

The resolution, moreover, is in direct conflict with another adopted earlier by a two-thirds majority. That resolution pledges unqualified support to President Roosevelt and to "the clear position of the stalwart and wise American leading our movement, Pres. Philip Murray, who allows no provocation from the enemy to steer us away from our no-strike pledge to America, which is the primary guarantee of victory in this war."

We trust that under its new leadership it will be this spirit that will guide the Michigan CIO.

Jesse Jones Rides Again

It is revealing that Vice-President Wallace's charge of obstructionism and "timid, business-as-usual procedure" against Secretary of Commerce Jesse Jones was immediately passed off by most of the press as just another instance of "bickering" between presidential advisers. By picturing Wallace's detailed and documental denunciation of Jones' colossal failures as merely an expression of a personal vendetta, the newspapers attempted to cover up for Mr. Jones and to intimate that the Vice-President is ill-tempered and uncooperative. In reality, Wallace's savage attack is, if anything, overdue. For Jones has steadfastly hampered the Board of Economic Warfare, and has consistently refused to take the war effort seriously. His every action bespeaks a greater anxiety to save a penny than to save the nation.

Vice-President Wallace

Over a year ago in New Masses (April 21, 1942) our Washington editor, Bruce Minton, reported that Secretary Jones was "frantically engaged in a last-minute stand to prevent the Board [the BEW] from freeing itself from his stifling control." Mr. Jones at that time was complaining that market prices of strategic materials were "too high." He also pleaded "that he can't find shipping space. Or he just lets things go and does not try to justify his failures."

The Secretary's attitude has not changed since then. In control of the purse strings through the Reconstruction Finance Corp., he has been able to frustrate BEW policies at every turn. The Vice-President, as BEW chairman, has in fact been unduly patient with Jesse Jones. Wallace's angry outburst last week, carefully and thoroughly documented, performs the great service of finally putting on the spot the man who has been the mainstay of that faction which insists on preserving "normal business procedures" even during the national emergency.

Significantly, the criticism of Mr. Jones brought results. Wallace's demand that hereafter the BEW be free of the RFC and its "ham-stringing bureaucracy" has been accepted in principle. Congress will be asked to free BEW financing so that this key agency can control its own import and export activities and direct its own preclusive buying. Wallace was backed up by President Roosevelt. Taken along with the President's sharp letter accepting the resignation of Chester Davis as War Food Administrator, Wallace's strong stand indicates a new resolve on the part of the administration to push its win-the-war program in the face of opposition from the defeatists and from those who insist on taking the war in normal stride, as it were—the slowly-and-calmly faction.

The administration has suffered serious reverses in Congress during the past month. Instead of accepting this setback, the President and those like Wallace among his supporters who understand the imperative need of prosecuting the all-out war with

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utmost vigor, now begin to hit back. Until the past week the defeatists held the initiative on the domestic front. The indications are that the administration forces, with the President in the lead, have decided on a counter-offensive; by pressing it, they can readily command the support of the overwhelming majority of Americans. A healthy symptom of the administration's growing strength occurred in Congress a few days ago, when the House upheld the President's veto on the bill to ban food subsidies.

Wallace's challenge of the entrenched and arrogant Secretary of Commerce was a first engagement. It is the signal for the people to mobilize. The guerrilla sniping of the defeatists and their stooges must be stopped, and the majority of Congress must be brought over to the main anti-Axis armies led by the Commander-in-Chief.

Two Kinds of Spies

STATEN ISLAND sits astride New York Harbor. Many of its homes overlook the Narrows and on a torrid Sunday afternoon crowds of Manhattanites ferry across to enjoy the Island's breeze, its suburban calm. But last week melodrama struck it like lightning. When the newspapermen turned in their copy it was a story of espionage, of letters written in invisible ink, of a quiet, colorless agent trained by Nazi experts. All of Ernest Lehmitz' neighbors greeted the news with incredulous surprise. He had seemed so patriotic. He was an active air raid warden, he knew how to wave the flag. This, of course, was his greatest asset to the German intelligence service, which Lehmitz supplied with dossiers on armament production, ship movements, and a host of details that undoubtedly cost the lives of many American soldiers and seamen. His accomplice, Erwin De Spretter, was Lehmitz' emissary in local war plants where, as a consulting engineer, De Spretter was able to collect technical data eventually transmitted to Berlin.

The detection of both men is sleuthing at its best, with the FBI obviously alert and on the job. There is more, however, to these arrests that needs emphasizing. Lehmitz partly accumulated his facts from loose talk. With fragments of information picked up in barrooms and taverns he pieced together the story eagerly sought by his masters abroad. But Lehmitz also communicated data on American public opinion and civilian morale. With this evidence the Gestapo could refine its political and psychological warfare; it learned exactly how to pit white against Negro, non-Jew against Jew; how to manipulate the American scene in the direction of civil disorder. And it is in the field of political attack that Nazi agents, both German and native-born, have been scoring their greatest successes while our own investigating departments have not done too well. Overly narrow definitions of espionage will handicap the ferreting out of our more subtle enemies within who operate under the most respectable auspices and wave our national banner as enthusiastically as Lehmitz did. It is these whom the Department of Justice must apprehend in order to avoid another calamity such as took place in the Detroit, Los Angeles, and Mobile race riots.

Eastman Vs. Unity

IF MAX EASTMAN's article in the July *Reader's Digest* is read only as another isolated diatribe directed at the Soviet Union, its meaning will be muffed completely. It represents at this moment of crisis at home another malevolent aspect of a conspiracy to disarm the nation politically and morally and thereby save Hitler's neck. There have been evil men who in the last weeks tried to undermine the labor movement and have it disavow its pledges for the speediest prosecution of the war; there have been evil men who, either by direct Nazi order or under Nazi persuasion, have planted the mines of racial hatred and touched them off in a number of American cities; and now there is Max Eastman, coralling his gangsters of the pen to join in the plotting against national unity and to dynamite the global alliance.

Eastman's opinions of the USSR, its peoples, its leadership, are notorious. They have been repeatedly exposed in these pages and we shall deal with them again in a forthcoming issue. And they have also been challenged and discredited in the past two years by observers without the least sympathy for socialism, yet whose integrity has brought them to the conclusion that there can be no victory, no peace in a world blinded with the prejudices that obstruct the closest ties with the Soviet Union. It is individuals in this latter camp, notably Vice-President Wallace, Ambassador Davies, and Wendell Willkie, against whom Eastman launches a shocking attack for refusing to give credence to his libels. These men are in the vanguard of Hitler's most determined enemies. Why does Eastman concentrate on them with a vehemence rivaling Goebbels'? The answer is obvious—as obvious as the meaning of John L. Lewis' warfare against the President. Eastman is intent on undermining all the domestic and international relations that have been built at the cost of rivers of blood. In the service of Hitlerism there can be no greater contribution than that.

The Children Lead

THERE are eight boys in Chicago who are doing a man-sized job for the army. The fourteen-year-old president of the Midget Manufacturing Co., Bill Nicol, recently told New York industrialists how his Junior Achievement group organized a business, secured a war contract, and went all-out in production. Working two hours a day after school, these eight high school students have produced and delivered 150,000 trouser hangers; they are planning to produce 500,000 in the near future. Nor are they the only Chicago children who have shouldered war responsibilities. Other Junior Achievement groups manufacture lunchboxes for war workers and plugs for machinery. Meanwhile the schoolgirls are busy too; they take care of war workers' babies in day nurseries.

It warms your heart, doesn't it? Partly, of course, because the work is so valuable in itself; these children are freeing adults for war production of the heavier type, solving problems which adults cannot solve by themselves. But the Chicago story is still more heartwarming in its revelation of the courage and resourcefulness of our children. Here is an answer to Nazi sneers at "undisciplined" American youth. And here too is the answer to some of our own reactionary officials, who consider that children in wartime should be neither seen nor heard. Our children are not helpless larvae, lying still and sucking honey from the worker bees. They are active citizens who can contribute much to society. When officials refuse to organize youth for victory they reject that potential contribution and force children into random pleasure-seeking.

But Chicago has shown what our boys and girls can accomplish, as Russia and England have demonstrated the capacity of their children for responsible war duties. What has been achieved in Chicago must and shall be done in other cities once our administrations are jarred out of their lethargy.

Not Enough Teachers

A ONE-ROOM schoolhouse on a country road; thirty children of all ages; one struggling and devoted teacher. For generations it has been one of the symbols of our democracy. We were aware, of course, that the tiny schoolroom was hardly ade-

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quate, that its many grades often received rather haphazard training, and that the teacher frequently led a hard life. Yet it represented achievement, that country schoolhouse. It brought us more than halfway on the road to universal literacy. But it seems we may lose even that one room.

One hundred thousand teachers, the recent National Educational Association convention testified, have left the classroom; and another 100,000 are expected to follow this year. They have good reason to leave. Many are going into the armed forces; many more into war industries, where they can earn a living wage. For forty percent of the country's teachers earn less than $1,200 yearly, eight percent—unbelievably—less than $600. Even unskilled labor can make more than that today. In the rural and small-town areas where teachers' pay is lowest, moreover, teachers usually have little or no protection in their jobs. They can be discharged at whim.

Competent people cannot be expected to put in years of training for such rewards. The NEA reports that there are no replacements for the vanished teachers. Thousands of rural schools will have to be closed entirely. Many remaining open will be staffed with completely untrained personnel whose own education is sketchy. Nor will towns and cities, with their overcrowded classes and dwindling appropriations, remain unscathed.

This would mean that millions of the future voters of the United States would be doomed to illiteracy—a victory for fascism which can emasculate other victories of democracy. The remedy lies in federal aid to education. A bill now pending, passage of which the NEA strongly urges, will allot $300,000,000 to the nation's schools, raising teachers' salaries to adequate levels and generally improving school plants and services. To this should be added the same tenure and pension rights for rural teachers which already protect the teachers of our large cities. Under such conditions the problem of finding teachers will vanish, and the popular education which is a prerequisite of democracy will survive its present crisis.

Attack at Orel

BECAUSE the printer did not work on the Fourth of July, this issue of NEW MASSES went to press earlier than usual. For that reason we are not able to discuss the principal current event: the opening of the Nazi offensive on the Soviet front. Five hundred and eighty-six Nazi tanks were destroyed in the first day's fighting along the 160-mile front from Orel to Belgorod. Colonel T. wrote his weekly military comment (see page 19) before the attack began, but his principal arguments stand.

The Word Is "Insurrection"

THERE was something fresh, clean, as clean as the sea breezes through which his ship plies, in the statement on the Detroit "riots" by Capt. Hugh S. Mulzac, Negro skipper of the "SS Booker T. Washington." Captain Mulzac and his crew of white and Negro wrote in a letter to Cong. Vito Marcantonio, "During the nine months that we have lived together and worked together on this ship—and manned the guns together when under attack from planes or submarines—we have not shown the slightest racial tension. . . ." This, the hardy salts wanted America to understand, is the way black and white can live together unless sinister agents operate among them to stir dissensions, to pit color against color for subversive reasons. And the crew of the famous ship put the spotlight on the reasons for the Detroit insurrection when they said that trouble between the races is the product of deliberate agitation and of "treasonable conspiracy."

At home other brave voices arose, demanding immediate action; most notably Philip Murray, head of the CIO, Ferdinand Smith, chairman, and Charles Collins, secretary, of the Negro Labor Victory Committee, Lester Grainger, of the National Urban League, and many others. Walter White, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, wired President Roosevelt urging him "to go on the radio at the earliest possible moment and appeal to America to resist Axis and other propaganda which is the cause of outbreaks within the last fortnight."

From Detroit itself the nation heard Pres. R. J. Thomas of the United Automobile Workers, say at the Michigan CIO convention: "I'll prove to the Grand Jury that leaders of the Ku Klux Klan in the city of Detroit were leading the rioters." He referred to the former leader of the Packard Local who was known as a Klansman. And he excoriated the "fact-finding" committees appointed by Mayor Jeffries of Detroit and Governor Kelley of Michigan, whose white-wash of the subversives had aroused the indignation and alarm of many Americans. President Thomas urged that the fact-finders themselves be investigated.

Nor were these racial and labor leaders alone in the demands for action: outstanding figures in various fields—men like Paul Muni, of the stage, and John Howard Lawson, of the movies, who wrote the script for the magnificent photoplay "Action in the North Atlantic," also spoke up. Muni: "The strongest measures must be taken by our President to punish the guilty ones." Lawson: "There is an unfortunate tendency to view these events from a social worker angle, to see them only in terms of inequality, lack of opportunity, and consequent maladjustment. . . ." Of course, he said, the latter factors exist, but total preoccupation with them "tends to obscure the role of organized treason." Certainly those factors must be cleared up, and successful prosecution of the war tends to clear them up; but the only real answer, now, Mr. Lawson indicated, "lies in a real crack-down on the fifth column in this country."

Unfortunately, however, responsible officials, and some other public figures, did not see things as clearly as these men. Governor Kelley's "fact-finding" committee succeeded in mixing things up dangerously, blaming the riots upon the pressure among the Negroes for equal economic and social rights with the whites and "the resistance to that objective." James Boyd, a southern liberal, adopted a similar position in the "Nation" week before last; in effect condemning Negroes for believing in the Constitution and in the rights guaranteed them. Altogether too many writers looked upon the peril from what might be termed a purely "sociological" viewpoint. They failed to see the "riots" as manipulations by the fifth column; they missed the indubitable connection of these disturbances with the war, and thereby failed to capture the truth: that they are an integral part of an insurrection against the American war effort. These publicists played into the hands of such subversives as Martin Dies, who had the gall to complain—at this time!—of "coddling" the national minorities. They overlooked the menace of such men as that nauseating phenomenon on the American scene, Westbrook Pegler, who sees eye to eye with Hitler: "Prejudice flows in the blood of mankind and we have never been free of it nor ever will be." (New York "World-Telegram." June 29.) Pegler saw the Negro press as the principal culprit.

No—this insurrection will not be put down until the people see their peril clearly and act in unison behind the President to end it. President Roosevelt called the Detroit events an "insurrection," a hard word but a true one. It demands hard, decisive, immediate action.

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AROUND THE WORLD

OUTLOOK IN CHINA

As THE seventh year of China's heroic struggle against the Japanese invader begins, the Chinese people's determination to fight through to victory is bolstered by developments in the global war against the Axis. In Europe the twelve preceding months saw the initiative seized from Hitler: the Red Armies of the Soviet Union had fundamentally shattered the might of the Nazis'; American and British bombing has, in many places, crippled Hitler's war factories, the Allies had cleared Africa of fascist troops, the long battle against the U-boats had finally turned in the Allies' favor, and millions throughout occupied Europe's underground were ready to coordinate their final effort with the opening of a second front.

There are encouraging indications that Japan, the Axis pivot in the Pacific theater of war, has also lost the freedom of initiative it held in the period immediately following Pearl Harbor. Attu has been stormed and retaken by the Americans; in the southwest Pacific Japan's advance has not only been stopped but rolled back. The early Japanese objective of occupying Australia and of cutting the American south Pacific supply route has been thwarted. The news in the first days of July, indeed, indicated that MacArthur's forces have begun a major drive to dislodge the enemy from the New Guinea-New Britain-Solomons area — a drive which, if successful, will not only divert an important section of Japanese strength from other fronts but will also place the Allied air forces in a position to bomb more vital centers of Japan's armed empire. While not at war against Japan, the Soviet Union has contributed immeasurably to the Allied cause in the Far East and particularly to China's defense by immobilizing a very large force of the Mikado's best troops along the Manchurian border.

To the southwest of China things have not gone so well. The United Nations have failed to take the decisive steps so desperately needed as preliminaries to the opening of a land route across Burma for troops and supplies. The cardinal political step has not been taken—the formation of a National Government in India which would have mobilized the entire Indian nation and revitalized the democratic faith of the colonial peoples of southeast Asia. While the anti-fascist world has moved forward toward greater unity, India's clock has actually been set back. The immediate consequence was the fiasco of the Wavell campaign in Burma. In spite of retrospective explanations that this was merely a prolonged scouting expedition, it is generally known that Wavell had intended that campaign to occupy the Burmese coast in preparation for large-scale landings. The effort fizzled not only because it failed to develop as coalition warfare with the Indians and Chinese, but also because it repeated the tragic errors of the year before in completely ignoring the local population.

As the Chinese people surveyed the situation outside their border at the beginning of their seventh year of war these were the highlights of what they saw in the military field. At home they were properly cheered by a great victory won under the most trying circumstances. The Japanese attempt to occupy and devastate the fertile rice bowl of the middle Yangtze around Ichang had been turned into a severe military defeat. Chinese troops, lacking military equipment, weakened by under-nourishment, and thwarted by runaway prices for the essentials of life, cut a large Japanese force to ribbons to regain more territory than the Japanese advance had taken. For the first time, moreover, a joint Chinese-American air force played a significant part in supporting the columns of troops below. No more dramatic demonstration could have been given of the effectiveness of even small supplies from abroad. Assurances that more supplies were on the way and would continue to arrive in ever greater volume as they could be spared from the European front strengthened the never fading Chinese belief that she would hold out until circumstances permitted the final, overwhelming offensive to knock the hated Japanese enemy out of China and out of the war.

EVEN though the improvement in the Allied position against the Axis has dispelled the dark gloom of discouragement which engulfed China in the months after Pearl Harbor the sun has by no means begun to shine for our Far Eastern Allies. The course of military events, alone, involves a long and tough pull. True, there is now the prospect of increased supplies to the Chinese on a scale sufficient to prepare the ground for a later offensive. There is also the prospect of a renewed Burma campaign, of a character which will in part at least rectify past errors. But nothing on the horizon spells immediate relief to Chinese suffering, to the indescribable horrors of her war of national liberation. What is now for the first time possible is a confidence in a predictable future, a faith which can make present hardships more bearable. Even this confidence and faith, however, depends on the early solution of difficulties which, despite the favorable turn in the global situation, can yet wreck our chances of victory.

One pictures with a feeling of shame a Chinese soldier learning of the "zoot-suit" riots, of the Detroit anti-Negro insurrection, of events in Beaumont, Mobile, Newark, Passaic. You can feel only chagrin when you think of a Chinese worker being told that the Congress of the United States is deliberately wrecking the effectiveness of important war agencies or that John L. Lewis is attempting to engineer a gigantic strike against production in the midst of war. How do you suppose the farmer on China's rice fields reacts to the news that a powerful farm bloc in America is consciously sabotaging the President's anti-inflation program? Can the effect of such happenings upon our hard-pressed allies be other than one of discouragement, if not bitterness? The Chinese must ask himself: How can the second front in Europe be opened and sustained until Hitler is annihilated, if the American home front is crumbling? He must wonder how our nation is ever going to get around to his sector of the war if conditions in the United States forever obstruct and delay the unfolding of the military strategy against the Axis.

For the Chinese knows that these American problems are also linked with the military situation as are China's own domestic conflicts. He knows that until they are solved, there will be untold waste of materials, and manpower, that until complete unity has ben won within each member of the United Nations the outcome of the entire war against fascism remains in doubt. Our Chinese ally knows this because his country's war effort has been obstructed by internal conflict as much as, and perhaps more than, that of any other fighting member of the United Nations. Reactionary elements in the Kuomintang have retained sufficient power to prevent full unity between that party and the Communists; indeed, large armed forces of the Kuomintang remain immobilized in the divisive task of blockading

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the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies from contact with the rest of the country. Hoarding, speculation, profiteering, and corruption exist in high government circles, affecting the welfare of the people and their ability to concentrate their energies against the enemy. Democratic practices and institutions, instead of developing as the necessities of the war dictate, are suppressed. Complete unity of the Chinese people under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is impeded by the actions of a defeatist, exploiting clique.

THE war has bound the American and the Chinese more closely together. The bonds of brotherhood are being daily strengthened in our joint effort to exterminate the Axis. Both peoples, the Chinese and the American, now have in common the supreme task of isolating and defeating those elements within their countries who are obstructing the war. Both face the urgent necessity of welding the firm internal unity which is the prerequisite for unconditional victory over the Hitler-Hirohito Axis. The winning of unity at home and the defeat of the enemy abroad through a war of coalition will forever cement the friendship of the democratic people of America, and China. This is the imperative as China enters its seventh year of patriotic war. FREDERICK V. FIELD.

WATCH ON THE POTOMAC by BRUCE MINTON

CAPITOL LOWDOWN

Washington.

INSUFFICIENT attention has been given in the press to the remarkable conference called by the "Fighting Forty"—the congressional committee pledged to support the President's OPA, subsidy, and roll-back policies. The conference, initiated by Representatives Scanlon, Holifield, McMurray, and Marcantonio, was the broadest expression of national unity yet mobilized in this country. Attending it, and endorsing its program of action, were the national CIO, AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods, the leading farm organizations, consumer bodies, national church groups, and one-tenth of the House of Representatives.

With Congress adjourning for the summer, and with small hope that the President will be able to win immediate reversal of congressional wrecking of his anti-inflation program, the promise of the recent conference takes on added importance. Russ Nixon, legislative representative of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, told me: "The next two months are fateful ones. We have the task of changing Congress—not its composition, but its comprehension. In nine weeks we must shift the impossible situation created by the defeat of roll-backs and the passage of the Smith-Connally act. Congress, when it goes home, must be met by the people, not by labor alone, but every possible group in the communities—American Legion posts, church bodies, discussion circles, lodges, consumer outfits. Congress must be told that the people demand support of the Commander-in-Chief and his win-the-war leadership. Congress must return to Washington in the fall much changed and chastened."

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ONE result of the passage of the Smith-Connally act has been William Green's letter calling on all AFL officers and members to write their senators demanding quick passage of HR 7, the anti-poll tax bill passed by the House and now holed away in the Senate Judiciary Committee. . . . Republicans are beginning to object to the bill introduced by Sen. Scott Lucas of Illinois to keep the polls open throughout the country for fifteen hours during the 1944 elections—from 6 AM to 9 PM. The number of voters dropped in 1942 by 22,000,000 from the 1940 figure. Much of this decline can be accounted for by (1) the migration of workers and the resultant loss of the ballot because of inability to register; (2) induction of voters into the armed services; (3) lack of interest in mid-term contests in which the issues were not clearly drawn. But at least 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 did not vote because they could not get to the polls in time. Late openings and early closings of polling places handicapped war workers. The Republicans want to limit voting hours, particularly if Franklin D. Roosevelt runs for a fourth term.

The resignation of Chester C. Davis as War Food Administrator, anticipated in this column last week, is a first step toward drastic changes in national food policies. Davis, a farm-bloc, Farm Bureau, Hoover man, undercut the Food for Victory program. His deliberate stalling, plus his encouragement of congressional knifing of subsidies, OPA, and price-control, have precipitated an extremely serious food crisis. As a result, look for stricter rationing in the future, and a new drive to convert agriculture to war, and to bring new lands into production. Progressive forces in Latin America particularly can anticipate US encouragement of programs for maximum farm production in this hemisphere.

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A revolt of the little fellows in the UMW policy board flared when John L. Lewis proclaimed his latest "truce." Off-the-record, he urged miners to continue the third coal strike. In an arrogantly cynical speech, Lewis told the policy board that the administration was finished, the people want to chuck out Roosevelt, and the country needs strong men—like himself. He intimated that perhaps he was the logical choice for President in 1944. . . . Lewis has attempted to build himself in the eyes of the AFL executive board by promising; if the AFL admits the UMW as an affiliate, to bring with him the United Automobile Workers and the United Rubber Workers.

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ORGANIZATIONS are pressing the President to appoint his own commission to investigate the rash of race riots. The Department of Justice has been unable, according to Attorney-General Biddle's private remarks, to find any consistent "pattern" in these riots. Biddle has consistently stepped gingerly in regard to native fascist movements. He has refused to prosecute Charles E. Coughlin; he has postponed bringing to trial the thirty-three indicted as seditionists and Nazi agents. Now, according to the Department of Justice, the thirty-three will not be in court before autumn, if then. The indictment mentions Gerald L. K. Smith's hate-sheet, *The Cross and the Flag*, but Smith is allowed to spread his venomous bigotry unchallenged and unmolested. . . . The Department hesitates to conduct a thorough investigation of the Detroit pogroms. FBI agent John S. Bugas "discounted charges that the outbreaks were instigated by Axis agents," and found no evidence of fifth column activity. Bugas frequently converses with Ford's Harry Bennett, who in turn has indicated partiality to Coughlin.

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The Department of Justice insists on drawing a rigid differentiation between Nazi fifth columnists and what it calls the "super-patriotic zeal" of such "American" organizations as the KKK and the Black Legion. The Department says it can uncover no evidence of dangerous activities on the part of the Klan. Those who urge further investigations of the KKK, say Department spokesmen, risk stirring up the "patriotic" Kluxers' resentment, which will be expressed in lynching and riot. . . . Also, the Department stresses that its hands are tied unless proof can be adduced that the riots "aided the enemy." To this pusillanimous evasion, Elmer Davis of OWI gave the best answer last week: "Whoever spread them [rumors stirring up race hatred]is helping Hitler. . . ." When a delegation of Negroes and whites came to Washington to urge the Department of Justice to act, several federal agencies conducted their own behind-the-scenes "inquiry" as to whether distinguished Negro members of the delegation had come to Washington to "foment race riots. . . ." Martin Dies is now busily injecting himself into the dangerous situation. Intimations are that Dies will "go after" all those who want to "improve" the lot of minorities. Dies will gun for liberal organizations supporting the anti-poll tax and anti-lynch bills, and he seems likely to smear every scientist and anthropologist who has dealt with the race question. Hitler outlawed the science of anthropology as a first step in his continental pogrom.

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SINCE the return of former Ambassador Davies from his second Mission to Moscow, certain groups in the State Department are extremely jittery over the possibility that Davies recommended the appointment of General Philip Faymonville, now in charge of lend-lease in the USSR, to replace Ambassador Standley. Aside from Davies himself, Faymonville is the best liked United States representative ever to serve in the Soviet Union. With General Graves in Siberia immediately after the last war, Faymonville learned to detest Japanese militarism and aggression. Later, as military attache both in China and Tokio, he learned still more of Japan's designs to rule Asia. Faymonville's appointment as ambassador to the USSR would be a slap at Japan; his acceptance by the Soviet Union (a foregone conclusion) would further strengthen United Nations unity. Faymonville is an independent thinker, an advocate of close Soviet-American amity. His pre-war insistence that the Red Army was well-equipped and would surprise the world, forced him into temporary oblivion as ordnance officer on the West Coast. Now, he is considered the logical man to forward the honest diplomacy of the Mission to Moscow. . . . It is well known that Ambassador Standley did not want to return to the USSR last winter. Standley made no bones of his bitterness over his failure to wrest lend-lease control from Faymonville. He resented Willkie and Davies being sent to Moscow on important diplomatic missions. He has not forgiven Sumner Welles for slapping him down for his speech charging that the Soviet Union did not show proper "gratitude" for lend-lease and American relief. Standley's most recent speech in Moscow, attended by Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of the New York *Times*, and by Eddie Rickenbacker, is interpreted here as an attempt by the admiral to lay the ground work for criticism of the Soviet Union when Standley finally returns to this country. . . . The kick upstairs given Soviet-haters Ray Atherton and Loy Henderson is taken as a first sign that the anti-Soviet boys in the State Department are losing ground. Certainly Henderson's appointment to Iraq hurts William Bullitt, who loses the one man personally loyal to him in the Department. Henderson's career was built largely with Bullitt's backing.

THE Maritime Commission refuses to deal with the Smaller War Plants Corp., or to allow small companies to bid on war materiel. This policy of ignoring small plants capable of supplying equipment needed for ships is one reason for the shipping bottleneck. . . . The corporation's director, Gen. Robert Johnson, maintains close relations with the NAM, and has not broken off his friendship with Gen. Robert E. Wood, formerly head of America First. Johnson grudgingly aids "distressed" industry, but refuses to integrate or convert smaller plants to war needs. He accepts the big business premise that to use the facilities of small business in a coordinated manner endangers the postwar competitive position of the great corporations. He therefore withholds techniques, designs, patents, equipment from the little fellows, and prevents them from bidding on war orders. He disapproves any action that will enhance the independence of smaller plants, preferring to keep them

Underground

DURING the last war thousands of deserters from the Hapsburg army fled into the mountains and forests of Hungary, Bohemia, Croatia, and Slovenia. There they formed the "green cadres"—armed bands which attacked supply trains and fought the punitive expeditions. But at that time these bands had no other aim than to protect their own lives and to stay out of the war.

Now the "green cadres" are again in formation almost everywhere in central and southeastern Europe, and in addition, in the Tyrolian, Styrian, and Carinthian mountains. This time, however, their objectives have changed and they are among the most active fighters against the fascist war lords. The Free Austrian radio station, broadcasting from somewhere in Austria and heard in London, has reported that the "green cadres" are growing in number and are recruits for the armies of revolt and the armies of liberation.

The secret radio station pictures the activities of these partisans in the Alpine parts of Austria as follows: In Carinthia a special formation of partisans called "*Karawaneknschutzen*" (snipers of the Karawanke Mountains) is hard at work. In the region of Salzburg many young peasants have fled to the forests taking with them part of the harvest and slaughtered cattle and thereby denying them to the Nazi foraging commissions. These Salzburg guerrillas in the last six months have destroyed about a dozen military supply stores, several trains loaded with materiel for the Hitler army, many bridges and signal posts. The guerrillas also won the admiration and assistance of the peasants by acts of revenge against Nazi leaders and officials who had been terrorizing the population. Among those killed was the Gestapo chief at Bleiberg who had imprisoned dozens of peasants and shot two girls for listening to foreign broadcasts.

Another partisan unit operates in Styria, in the neighborhood of the big armament plants near Steyr and Graz. There the workers still have the arms they used in 1934 when the Schutzbund fought against Dollfuss and Starhemberg's fascist Heimwehr. Nazi officials are still wondering how two carloads of hand grenades vanished from the yards of the Steyr munitions and rifle works. The Gestapo staged a huge manhunt to find the culprits. A few days later, however, the hand grenades were returned . . . bursting in the barracks of the Nazi Elite Guard at Leoben.

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subservient to monopoly. This course nullifies the purpose of the SWPC as it was conceived by Congress.

Neither the Democratic majority leader John McCormack, nor the Republican minority leader Joseph Martin, has tried to stop or has expressed disapproval of the anti-Semitic speeches heard ever more frequently in the House. Except for a handful, most representatives tolerate un-American, Hitler-aping speeches such as the following (merely a sampling of speeches heard all too often these days):

Bradley of Michigan (referring to David K. Niles, presidential advisor): "They tell me his real name is David K. Neyhus . . . the plump, bespectacled little one-time Boston radical."

Flannagan of Virginia: "I do not want any Ginsburg placed in charge of my boy." (Later Flannagan corrected his remarks by eliminating the "any.")

Rankin of Mississippi: "One leading member of the House said the other day that there were thirty-nine times as many Jews on the government pay roll as they are numerically entitled to."

"I hesitate to use the word 'Jew' in any speech in this House, for whenever I do a little group of communistic Jews in this country howl to high heaven. . . . White gentiles of this country have no rights left. . . ."

FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

BEFORE THE LEAVES FALL

This was written before the Nazis attacked at Orel.—Ed. Note.

THE Eastern Front continues in a state of hair trigger equilibrium with most of the German Army still massed there and not one division leaving for the West. In the southwest Pacific, American combined forces under General MacArthur are attacking the outer belt of Japanese defenses in the Solomons and in New Guinea. The Chinese seem to have checked a Japanese attempt at a comeback in the "rice bowl." In Western Europe—or rather, unfortunately, only *over* it—the aerial offensive of the Allies against Germany and Italy continues with the misleading example of Pantelleria's capture serving as a booster for the air-power-alone advocates. In the Atlantic, the German submarines in June have had their worst month of the war, paying with one pigboat for every Allied merchantman lost.

Such is the general situation at the fighting fronts. With what kind of internal situation does Germany face this picture?

After almost two years of fighting, which cost German war economy very little, Germany since June 22, 1941, has been suffering terrific losses in manpower and materiel, principally at the hands of the Red Army. The robbery of the conquered people, the mass enslavement of their manpower have not been able to arrest the deterioration of German economy. Of course it would be foolish to expect the whole Hitlerite machine suddenly to stop for lack of oil, for instance. The Germans are still able to maneuver, economically speaking, along "inner lines"; but because of basic shortages, every such maneuver increases the process of deterioration.

The main sore of German economy is not the shortage of some specific strategic material, but the shortage of manpower. The famous Soviet economist Eugene Varga writes that no less than 15,000,000 able-bodied men have been withdrawn from German industry and fed into the army. Some 8,000,000 or 9,000,000 foreign workers, speaking sixteen different languages, have been driven into Germany, but cannot fill the gap. Furthermore, they cannot be entrusted with critical work, and they have to be watched by an army of overseers and interpreters as the Germans cannot allow foreigners of one nationality to congregate in one factory for fear of collusion and sabotage. Thus, the manpower shortage is perhaps the most critical factor.

The second factor is the shortage of fuel caused by excessive consumption (mostly on the Eastern Front), the pounding of the Ruhr coal region, and the needs of Germany's weak satellites. The third factor, closely linked to the other two, is the crisis of German transport.

ALL three factors fundamentally stem from the first—the shortage of manpower, which is irreplaceable. Thus Germany faces the necessity of restricting its expenditures in men and materiel, so as to build up new reserves for future action. For this the Nazis need a breathing spell. *Ergo,* what the Allied coalition must do is *force* Germany to spend men and materials. And the best way to do that is to strike simultaneously from East and West. The logic of it is inescapable. The Nazis have at present—Associated Press reports notwithstanding—211 German divisions on the Eastern Front, not counting the two-score-odd satellite divisions sandwiched between them. Outside of the Soviet Union there are ninety-one German divisions, distributed as follows: thirty-five in France, Belgium, and Holland; twenty in reserve in Germany and Austria; eight to ten in the Balkans; and the balance in Norway and some other occupied and satellite countries. There are no German divisions in Italy at present.

There have been no German troop-movements from the East to the West.

Even with such a force facing the Red Army, the Nazis have not launched their summer offensive at this writing (July 1) which means, as I have said, that the equilibrium is of a hair trigger character. Therefore, it can be upset in our favor by a pincer action, i.e., *by the opening of a second front now,* without waiting for the "autumn leaves to fall." (They fall early around Leningrad and Vitebsk.)

What we are doing to Western Europe from the air is simply grand, but it is not enough. Let us put aside any idea that air power alone can do the trick. Pantelleria is no example, for air power was assisted by naval power, the island was isolated, its garrison was of low caliber, and Pantelleria was a small objective anyway.

The time for invasion is now, before Germany can build up her depleted stocks.

AT THIS writing it is difficult to say how large the intended scope of our new offensive in the Southwest Pacific is. However, the fact that General MacArthur is in supreme command of the operations in the entire 1,000-mile wide battle area would seem to mean that this is no peanut offensive and that its goal is at least Rabaul on New Britain and the New Guinea bases of Salamaua and Lae. Our first objective, Munda on New Georgia, is being softened up for attack. Viru, to the southwest, and Rendova have been captured. In an air battle over Rendova our fliers destroyed more than 100 Japanese planes. Thus the Japanese got another drubbing, which augurs well for an operation in which air umbrellas will be of utmost importance.

If this operation develops to take in Rabaul, from which we will be able to threaten the large Japanese base of Truk only 700 miles away, it will be possible to say that at least China got something of a second front, because the Japanese will be forced to defend their positions in the Carolines, which cover the Guam-Wake line.

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THE MAN WHO BOMBED BERLIN—III

Aviator on leave. "Uncle Hero of the Soviet Union," the children say, "come to our school and tell us about war." And then back to the bombings.

FEB. 15, 1942: For the last ten days we have been supporting the offensive of our troops, bombing main lines of resistance to German defenses and their reserves. Sometimes we took off twice daily: at night and during the day. The enemy's fighter planes were active. They form an umbrella over their troops but don't accept battle. They have been observing our assault planes at work. They almost hung ground, practically touching the heads of the Fritzes. The German AA gunners just can't adjust their guns for firing at assault planes. These small nimble planes creep up unnoticed. Like a streak of lightning they flash out of forest or dell, rain down bombs, and spit bullets, leaving in their wake a column of smoke. It is sheer pleasure to watch them.

Alexander Konischev, assault pilot, is somewhere around my age. Once when assaulting a column of enemy tanks on the highway at an altitude of ten meters from the ground four armor-piercing AA shells hit the cockpit. The plane lost its balance. Konischev's right leg and left arm were broken. Still he managed to drop the last stick of bombs and reach his airdrome. Only after he landed and switched off the motor did he lose consciousness. The doctors discovered 103 wounds on his body. But he pulled through and is now convalescing in the hospital. He'll be in action again before long.

February 16: We're taking it easy. I'm writing letters to my wife, parents, and friends. Sergei, of course, is immersed in poetry. When he comes across a good poem, he never fails to read it aloud. I'm obliged to listen, although our tastes by no means coincide. But it's impossible to argue with him at such times.

February 20: The government issued a decree decorating me with the Order of the Red Banner.

February 22: We were returning from an operational flight. The weather sharply got worse, the plane became ice-coated, and our aerial antenna was damaged. We tried landing in an airdrome in the vicinity of Moscow, but it was impossible. We flew to another airdrome only to find a similar situation. Our gas was running low and the ice coating on our plane was steadily thickening. We couldn't see a thing and were compelled to come to a stop. Suddenly sparkling white snow flashed below our plane. We were coming out of the fog and visibility was fine. Looking for a landing place was out of the question, however, as there was no gas left to do it on. Without releasing my undercarriage I landed on a forest glade covered with soggy deep snow. I executed a pretty neat landing, although there were some sturdy pine trees about three feet away. A bit more and we wouldn't have lived to tell the tale. We got out of the plane, had a bite to eat, and started to walk until we emerged at a railway line. At a small station we learned that there would soon be a train enroute to Moscow. That suited us fine. The train came along, and when we got in the passengers politely offered us seats.

"Don't tell me you had a forced landing," said a short lieutenant with a weatherbeaten face. "Something like it," replied Sergei. "Even a horse stumbles now and again."

March 15: Hectic days and nights. We sometimes take off on three operational flights in the course of twenty-four hours. The entire first half of March was marked by complex meteorological conditions—snowfall, sleet, strong winds, clouds, and fog in area of objectives. My crew was in high spirits.

March 20: Hero of the Soviet Union Vasili Grechishkin bombed enemy rear. On his way back to the front lines, his plane was shelled by large caliber artillery. A splinter hit the fuselage and the instruments stopped working. It was a dark cloudy night. Instrument flying was out of the question. The plane was flying on an "off chance" and the gas was coming to an end. The vicinity was not suitable for landing. Grechishkin thereupon ordered the members of his crew to bail out on parachutes. As for himself, he decided somehow to try and save the plane. The navigator, aerial gunners, and wireless operators jumped. The pilot did not succeed in landing; the plane burst into flames, and there was an explosion in the motor. Grechishkin tried to extinguish the fire by gliding. At an altitude of 500 meters, when he saw that it was impossible to save the plane, the pilot leaped on a parachute. The parachute straps caught in the cupola and prevented the parachute from billowing out. The pilot hurled to the ground with closed parachute, but did not crash to his death. This incident is unprecedented in the history of aviation. The snow saved Grechishkin from death. He cut into a soft drift and the only damage done was a couple of heavy bruises. The members of the crew came across their commander sitting on the snow near the burning plan. His ears were bleeding. On the following day they all returned to their airdrome.

March 21: Tomorrow the whole crew is going off on leave. I'm going to Kzyl to visit my wife and daughter. Today we are to bomb the German airdrome.

"And what if we are suddenly brought down on the eve of the festive occasion?" jests Vasilyev. "Or make a forced landing near the front line and from there have to foot it to the base? That's what I'd call a dirty trick."

Panfilov is ready to jump down his throat. "I've already sent a telegram home letting them know that I'm leaving on the 22d and that they are to meet me. And here you are gloating in evil anticipation."

"You're in too much of a hurry," moralizes Vasilyev. "Your relatives will turn up at the station, and imagine how worried they'll be if you don't arrive."

THE enemy airdrome was well guarded. We were caught in beams of searchlights. The AA guns opened a murderous fire but Sergei dropped his bombs on the grounded planes. "Seeing that we are going on leave tomorrow you may just as well be generous with your bullets," I instructed the aerial gunners and wireless operators. Vasilyev and Panfilov opened machine gun fire and blacked out several searchlights. We dived into darkness and headed for home. Panfilov's jubilant voice was heard through the earphones: "It's good I sent off my telegram. Vasilyev was so cautious that there'll be nobody to meet him at the station."

"You're highly mistaken, my friend," Vasilyev retorted. "As a matter of fact, I sent a telegram long before you did."

March 23: We take off on a Douglas plane for Kzyl-Orda. Sergei will fly to Krasnodar where his family is living. We take warm leave of each other. "I'm going to feel pretty lonesome without you devils," says the navigator to me. "I've kind of grown accustomed to you. Don't forget to write."

April 5: Taking life easy in Kzyl-Orda. I speak in schools. It's impossible to refuse. Delegations of children come to the house: "Uncle Hero of the Soviet Union, come to our school and tell us about war." While I talk to them their eyes sparkle and they sit as quiet as little mice. When I ask them what they want to be when they grow up, they invariably answer: flyers, tankmen, snipers, sappers, engineers. Kids have many plans and aspirations and their dreams will come true. We are fighting for a happy life for our children. When I meet youngsters I recall my schooldays.

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When I come home after visiting the schools, my wife sometimes reproaches me: "Now, where have you been all morning? You are supposed to be on vacation for twenty days and here you go and isolate yourself. That's what you call being nice." I report my reasons for my long absence. "I am interested in everything you do," she explains. "If you go hunting, I want to go with you. If it's fishing again, I want to be with you. I want to be wherever you are." She then approaches me, and passing a small palm over my head asks in a gentle voice, "Nothing will happen to us?" I say firmly, "You know what the navigator said to me: 'Man wasn't born yet who can down us.'"

"Even so, please look after yourself," she says, looking into my eyes. "If anything should happen, what will we do without you? Galya will grow up and ask where her daddy is. No, no, I don't want even to think about it. Sasha, aren't you afraid to fly there?"

"Somewhat, Shura darling," I reply, smiling, "but our work is such that whether you are afraid or not, the Germans must be smashed."

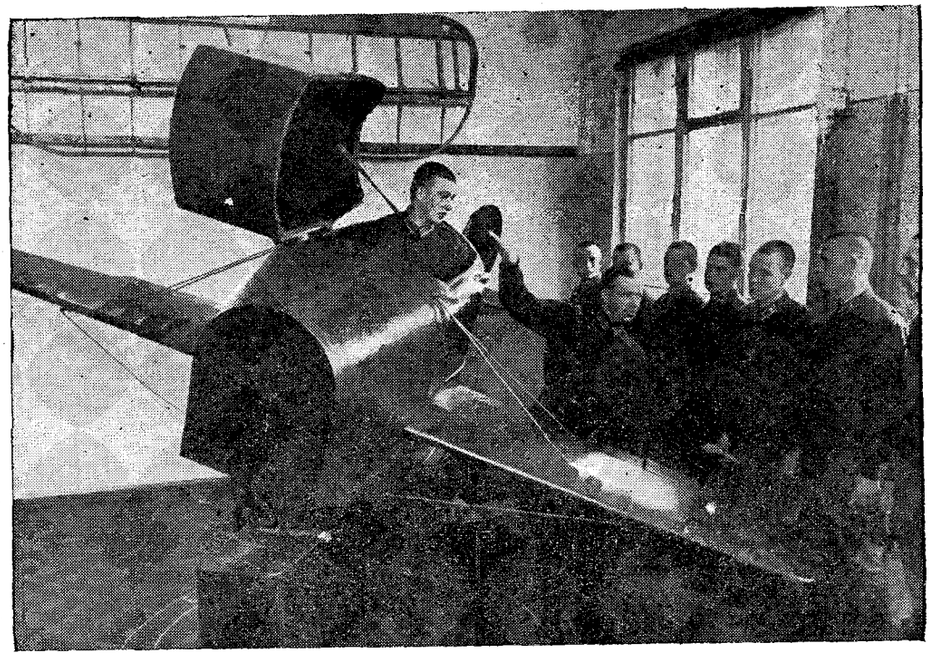
April 8: Spring in the steppes is really delightful. In the evenings Shura and I go for long walks outside the town. The horizon is bathed in the colors of sunset and the earth emits fine vapor. The sky is cloudless. Military and transport planes occasionally fly overhead. I crane my neck and follow their flight until they are but a speck in the heavens. It is on such occasions that I get homesick for the sky. Earth may be wonderful, and a good place to live, but it is rather dull. It is far more exciting to have your hand on the stick of a plane. The other night I dreamed I was standing on our landing field. Our squadron's planes were returning from an operational flight and the boys were reporting on the results. Some maintenance men came up and informed me that my plane was ready to take off. I went to the plane and whom should I see there but my father. He seemed to be very angry about something. He said, "Look here, Sasha, you are not taking enough bombs with you. Take heavier loads. There are enough bombs. I've just come from the plant and I can tell you this—that it is working the clock around to turn out arms and munitions. Now it is your business to keep pace with us and drop your bombs unerringly."

"Well, I am doing my very best, father," I answered. "You ask the command. They will tell you how Kulikov and I do our job." He asked me how many Germans I had accounted for. I named an approximate figure and he said, "Not so bad, my boy." The aerial gunners and navigator approached. "To your places, boys," I said, and with these words I woke up.

"What is the matter with you?" my wife asked. "You're twitching and shouting." I told her I was just getting ready to take off on a bombing raid. "Oh God," she laughed, "what a husband! Surely you've done enough flying in your waking hours. Try to rest and get a bit of sleep."

"Shura darling, you just can't understand, it's beyond you. Born to crawl, it is not for you to fly."

Says my wife, "Go to sleep. I too have read Gorky."



Young Red airmen train thoroughly for the battle against Hitler

April 9: I am reading Captain Wan Si's book *Wings of China.* It is a marvelous story about Chinese flyers, written by one who has a profound knowledge of the matter. What a fine lot the Chinese are! How bravely they fight in defense of their country. The Chinese pilots are very young but they know no fear in battle.

May 2: I am back again in the regiment, fighting and training. When we have a free day or our plane is in the repair shop we do a bit of reading. Today our navigator brought Rudolph Steinmetz' *Philosophy of War* from the library. He was sitting next to me at the table and I saw the book provoking him to extreme excitement —only I didn't know whether it was because he liked it very much or just because it was contrary to his ideas. I waited for an outburst, and sure enough it was not long in coming. Sergei got up and banged the book on the table. "How loathsome!"

"What's the matter?" I asked, sensing that the fun was going to start soon. "What's the matter?" he exclaimed, "just listen to this war hymn. He looks upon war as a phenomenon in progress and a blessing for mankind, the devil. This enlightened specimen considers that vanquished peoples must become slaves of conquerors. You see, he is convinced that slavery is a great educating force in history. What trash this man has piled up. He says: 'Only eyes must be left to the population so that they can cry and they must be treated harshly to hasten the conclusion of peace.' Fascists have proved to be good disciples. They behave in keeping with 'philosophical' precepts!"

Silent for a moment, he proceeded in a calm voice: "We are not pacifists. We are not afraid of blood. We know how to fight when necessary but only sadists, the mentally deranged, can view bloody war as a form of sport and take delight in it. I am Russian and proud of it. There have never been such 'philosophers' as Steinmetz in Russia."

May 10: We bombed German infantry and artillery. The nights are dark and the horizon blurred. We drop bombs at low altitudes. AA guns spit fire and our wings are scarred by splinters.

May 11: We embarked on a long and difficult flight to X—. Beyond the front line, when we still had another 200 kilometers to go before reaching our objective, the oil pressure dropped. We were alarmed. Should we cut short our flight? Once there was no oil, the motors would burn and that would spell catastrophe. If we turned back we wouldn't make our airdrome and that would mean a forced landing behind the German lines. We decided to continue the flight. Everything proceeded normally and we headed for our objective with our hearts in our mouths. The motors might stop any minute. I circled over the objective. The navigator released a stick of bombs. I felt lighthearted, and we returned to our base. Upon examination, we found that we had been fooled by instruments which were out of order. The treachery of the plane can sometimes fray the strongest nerves.

SASHA MOLODCHY.

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BOOKS and PEOPLE by SAMUEL SILLEN

CHRONICLE OF THE KLAN SPIRIT

Gustavus Myers' "History of Bigotry in the United States" tells the appalling story of the witch-hunters, Know Nothings, KKK, Christian Front. . . . Hitler's precursors and contemporaries.

HISTORY OF BIGOTRY IN THE UNITED STATES, *by Gustavus Myers. Random House. $3.50.*

RECENT events have lent a painful significance to this survey of racial and religious persecution which Gustavus Myers completed shortly before his death last year. A new chapter on Los Angeles, Beaumont, and Detroit almost writes itself after one has read Myers' concluding chapters on the Ku Klux Klan, the Christian Front, "Hitler's Advent the Signal," and "On the Nazi Pattern." When this work was begun, as far back as 1925, there were those who pretended to themselves that bigotry was spasmodic, occasionally spurting poison but inevitably subsiding, never a permanent threat to the nation. There are unfortunately still those who prefer to look the other way until a storm of cruel prejudice will somehow blow over. But for any sober mind, as Myers notes in his preface, "this sanguine attitude has been shattered by fearfully tragic events in great parts of Europe and elsewhere, with repercussions here. . . ."

It is not pleasant to read this record of savage intolerance from the witch-hunters of the seventeenth century to the Pelleys, Winrods, and Gerald Smiths of our day. One prefers to dwell on the sound traditions, which are the dominant traditions, of American life. In times like these we turn almost instinctively, as I suggested last week, to men like Jefferson, Paine, and Freneau to refresh our faith in American democracy and to illuminate the values for which we fight. But it is worse than useless, it is dangerous, to ignore the anti-democratic undercurrent against which the exponents of progress have had to contend at every moment of our history. Ours is predominantly a legacy of liberation; but millions of Americans have inherited prejudice, superstition, and ignorance. It is the great historical triumph of America, as contrasted to the great historical calamity of Germany, that at each crucial stage the democratic forces have vanquished the forces of reaction or national treachery: Washington, not Arnold; Jefferson, not Burr; Lincoln, not Davis; Roosevelt, not Hoover. But the movements that failed, the Native Americans of the forties, the Know-Nothing's of the fifties, the American Protective Association of the eighties, the Ku Klux Klan after the Civil War and again after the World War, Tom Watson of Georgia and Tom Heflin of Alabama—all these expressions of anti-Catholic, anti-Negro, anti-Semitic, and anti-foreigner fanaticism have left their mark. And it is among those who carry on this minority and un-American tradition today that Hitler finds fertile soil.

To face this fact as Myers does is not to lose hope or to embrace cynicism. It is instructive to recall in this connection the very realistic letter from Jefferson to Mordecai M. Noah in 1818 regarding anti-Semitism. "Our laws," wrote Jefferson, "have applied the only antidote to this vice, protecting our religious, as they do our civil rights, by putting all on an equal footing. But more remains to be done, for although we are free by the law, we are not so in practice; public opinion erects itself into an Inquisition, and exercises its offices with as much fanaticism as fans the flames of an Auto-da-Fe." Refusing to blink this truth, we are more amply armed to deal with it. The lynch mob in the South and the lynch mob in Detroit, their leaders and their motives, are not accidents of our national life; failure to recognize them as part of a consistent pattern of action that threatens our security is failure to defend America. The ostrich is no patriot.

What is most impressive in this summary of intolerance is the fact that in this period all native movements of bigotry merge with Nazism, become at once its tool and accomplice. When the Ku Klux Klan joined with the Nazi Bund in an "Americanism" meeting at Camp Nordland in 1940, there remained little room for illusion. The pretense of pure Americanism, standby of the nativists and lynchers for so many decades, could not be more graphically exposed. Tom Watson had ranted in 1913 that "There is no longer any doubt that the Roman priests and the opulent Jews are allies." Now there could be no doubt that the Klan and the Nazis, the internal and the external enemies of this country were allies, and that apostles of hate like Watson and his spiritual forebears of an earlier century had prepared the alliance. Both Ford and Lindbergh, to whom

Nazis force Jews to dig their own graves. An illustration by Pablo O'Higgins from "The Black Book of the Nazi Terror."

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Myers dedicates three revealing chapters, had fostered the alliance with their anti-Semitism. And as Myers shows, citing John L. Spivak's NEW MASSES series of a few years back, Coughlin used the "crusade against Communism," precisely as his colleagues did, as the main weapon in his demagogic campaign against American freedom.

The example of Coughlin and the Christian Front is particularly interesting. For a great part of this book deals with the bigoted movements against the Catholics in this country. In the nineteenth century, and even earlier, the main expression of religious bigotry was the attack on the Catholic Church. Lurid and patently phony "revelations and confessions of ex-nuns" were as popular with the Know-Nothing editors as the lurid and patently phony "revelations and confessions of ex-Reds" have been with Hearst and Roy Howard. Catholics were alleged to have no patriotic feelings because they "took orders" from Rome. They were accused of plotting to subvert the government and of threatening to undermine sound religion. And as the 1928 smear campaign against Alfred E. Smith, not to mention more recent events, demonstrated, this bias retained its virulence in our own century. The conclusion is inescapable from the facts adduced here that Father Coughlin is the supreme traitor to Catholic Americans; that he has used the very same instruments of bigotry which have scarred members of the Church in this country; and that misguided Catholics who follow the trend he represents are appealing to emotions that place not only their country but their Church in jeopardy.

Indeed, the major lesson of this history of bigotry is that a threat to one religious or racial minority is a threat to all such minorities and therefore to the country as a whole. Sooner or later, the campaign against Catholics merged with the campaign against the foreign-born, Negroes, Jews; and sooner or later this campaign merged with that against Communists. This is the meaning, after all, of the Ku Klux Klan as it is of the Silver Shirts and the Black Legion. For a time each one of these groups is willing in a particular situation to use unthinking Catholics or unthinking Negroes against Jews, for example; but all the better, in the end, to devour the group that has been so manipulated. That truth has been burnt deeply into the record, the American record. And if more extreme corroborative evidence were needed, the common fate of Catholics and Jews and liberal Protestants under the Nazis has provided it in tragic abundance.

BROADLY, then, Gustavus Myers has succeeded in his purpose of giving us a grasp of the past in order to understand the closely related phenomena of the present. He has armed us with facts against a period when, as he felt, efforts may be made to

use bigotry "with powerful and ghastly effect, as in Hitlerized Germany and subjugated countries, not only against the people of one religion, but . . . all religions and religion itself." And this despite definite limitations of the book. There are three major limitations, which I shall state merely in summary form, though much space could be devoted to each. Tending to define bigotry too closely in terms of religion, Myers pays far too little attention to the organized prejudice against Negroes, a hostility which is really the pivot of all intolerance and persecution in America. I feel, moreover, that this story of bigotry would have been deepened and made more positive by placing simultaneous stress on the active fight *against* bigotry in each period. The analysis of bigotry in each period is only superficially, even haphazardly, in terms of the basic social forces and historical issues of the period.

BUT if the volume does not achieve the more rounded and probably more durable character of Myers' famous 1909 volume on the *History of the Great American Fortunes*, it is a copious storehouse of important facts, the product of painstaking research. Myers is particularly successful in his cogent refutation of specific arguments for intolerance. And above all, his work, to use his own phrase, is "of instructive timeliness." It is a worthy posthumous contribution to this war against the most evil bigotry of all time.

Fighting Men

LAST MAN OFF WAKE ISLAND, *by Lt. Col. Walter L. J. Bayler. Bobbs Merrill. $2.75.*
DYNAMITE CARGO, *by Fred Herman. Vanguard. $2.*

IT IS hard to imagine such a thing as a thoroughly bad book about this people's war; almost any honestly written account of the valor and endurance of our armed forces and our fighting civilians is capable of awakening non-combatants to a wider realization of the harshness of the road to victory and to a deeper sense of responsibility toward our own tasks on the home front. But it would be idle to pretend that all eye-witness war books are valuable to the same degree. Some can explain even while they present their facts; others are at best factual illustrations of what we already know to be so or merely depictions of scenes of conflict with no relation to the rest of the war or its place in the world.

Of the latter type, *Last Man Off Wake Island* by Lt. Col. Walter L. J. Bayler is an excellent example. Lieutenant Colonel Bayler, as his story is presented by Cecil Carnes, is proud of being an efficient professional soldier in the Marine Corps, of the ruggedness and bravery of the fighting men he knows in action. But he is extremely unselective about his wars and the causes for which the marines are asked to fight and die: Nicaragua holds the same value for him as the three fronts where he has fought since December 1941. He describes all fighting as a kind of football game in which the marines are always the winning team.

But as factual narrative, this is clear, good, informative stuff. Colonel Bayler is an air-ground communications expert, and as such was sent to Wake Island in November 1941, with orders to proceed to Midway when his apparatus was installed, and from there he was ordered to Guadalcanal. In other words, from the morning of Dec. 8, 1941, until he left Guadalcanal last November 5, his job took him into the heaviest of our Pacific fighting.

In all three theaters, it is the same story, studded with accounts of personal devotion and heroism: the story of inadequate forces with insufficient or destroyed equipment battling with such courage, intelligence, and efficiency that they could not be conquered. On Guadalcanal, it is true, the needed equipment came through from day to day, so that by the time the marines were relieved by the army, there were enough of all types of aircraft to take the war to the enemy, not to mention supplies for the ground forces. But for the first month or so, there was not even air defense. Food was not plentiful. The Japanese bombers came over on schedule, and what with attack, counter-attack, and snipers, no ground except Henderson Field could ever be considered finally taken unless it contained a fox-hole and a marine. Colonel Bayler's radio post was blown up; an artillery battle was fought over his formerly peaceful tent. But because of men doing a conscientious job, the odds against us decreased until we won on Guadalcanal.

ANOTHER group of men to whom the proper equipment was slow in coming are our merchant seamen, but they too are now getting the guns. Since both Fred Herman's *Dynamite Cargo* and Robert Carse's *There Go The Ships* deal with the

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convoys to Murmansk, a comparison becomes almost unavoidable. I should say that there are two main differences between them. The first is that Fred Herman writes more impressionistically and perhaps more literarily. He gives a series of sharp, detailed pictures: of the collision that first disabled the *Jason*, of Willy with a girl in Galveston and the one record he played on the victrola—and of Willy lying dead on deck as a Heinkel strafed them when they were abandoning ship, of attacking planes going through a convoy like basketball players dribbling a ball, of the rage that comes over men so that they shoot a parachuting Nazi to ribbons before he hits the sea.

These are pictures that remain with you, and, like an expert movie montage, they combine to make something greater than the sum of the parts. The Carse book, on the other hand, was more of a continuous narrative. There are unforgettable scenes, in *There Go the Ships* it is true, but it is not so much a *written* book; it has the simplicity of someone yarning away to a few friends. Which you prefer depends on you.

The other great difference, I should say, is that the Carse book displays a greater degree of political consciousness. The author of *There Go The Ships* sees the Murmansk run in its relation to the rest of the fight for freedom all over the world. Fred Herman, on the other hand, while equally a union man, seems to be still somewhat influenced by that 1920's-Hemingway tradition in which no one of any intelligence can really believe in anything. But the bravery of our merchant seamen, who have proportionately suffered more casualties than any other branch of our armed forces, cannot be too often celebrated; no book portraying their service and sacrifice can be amiss.

SALLY ALFORD.

Stimulating Scholarship

SCIENCE & SOCIETY. *Summer, 1943, issue. 35c. Published at 30 East 20th Street, New York.*

QUARTERLY journals, particularly those in a technical category, have a rather sorry capacity for dullness masquerading as scholarship. The current number of *Science & Society* is a scintillating example of scholarship that retains imagination and vigor even when it is dealing with relatively complex problems. But this issue is also more than a product of excellent editorship. It is an immense service in behalf of intimate cultural ties with the Soviet Union and cannot fail to make the deepest impression on American university circles as well as on the country as a whole.

The articles are written by distinguished Soviet workers in the fields of physics, historiography, biology, and literature. They are gems of condensation and simplicity, yet achieve what might offhand have seemed impossible—summarizing in limited space the major cultural trends in a quarter-century of Soviet life. In the reading one detects immediately that the authors are as deeply immersed in the currents of their society as they are in their specialized projects. There seems to be not the slightest barrier between their technical research and their responsibilities as members of a vibrant community. Thus Professor Ioffe, who writes the essay on physics, is able to report, for example, that many of his colleagues have removed their laboratories to warships where they can test their innovations under the stress of battle while at the same time facing the risks of bomb and torpedo. This spirit dominates every step the Soviet scientist takes. One group of physicists spent three weeks working day and night, some of them collapsing under the strain, but all determined to finish a job so that it could be brought to the testing stage. Another group in Kazan worked in the open at forty to forty-five below zero with equipment to which their hands froze and the skin came off but none of them gave up until the project was completed.

In the physical sciences the pattern of work is designed to perfect the techniques of attack and defense. For reasons of security most of the advances will not be made public until after the war. But Professor Ioffe notes that the greatest problems are those presented by aviation. "Questions of aerodynamics, of the flow of air, of minimizing resistance, thus play the leading role." The secrets of optics in relation to aviation techniques are also being relentlessly pursued with considerable success.

Wartime biology is shouldering its part of the military burden with all the specialists' work united and coordinated according to plan. The idea of plan and planning is recurrent throughout these reviews. It is undoubtedly the rich soil in which all of Soviet science thrives. Twenty-five years ago, when the first plans were formulated, many scientists saw in them an effort to bind them in strait-jackets. "But today," writes Professor Orbeli, director of the Physiological Institute, "by the natural course of events, we have become convinced that without such planning, large scale, serious work cannot go forward." And in a distinctly different field—history—planning has also brought rich rewards. Investigation has proceeded at an unparalleled tempo until now all Soviet peoples have been studied. For this notable achievement B. D. Grekov, an authority on medieval Russian history, expresses the indebtedness of Soviet historians to Marxist-Leninist theory, which made it possible for them to utilize the best in the work of the pre-revolutionary historians while at the same time moving into hitherto unexplored channels.

The great obstacle which impeded Soviet historiography, the formalistic Pokrovsky school, has been successfully hurdled, and Soviet historical science has reached great heights of maturity. With the help of Stalin

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fresh impulse was given for "scientific boldness, for independent creative work, for the treatment of new concrete questions, as opposed to the multiplication of sociological epochs." Summarizing the trends in Soviet historiography, Grekov describes them as consisting of the collection and publication of sources, the preliminary critical study of these sources, the extension of research on problems which had been undertaken in the pre-revolutionary era as well as on new problems, and, finally, the work of popularization. Professor Tarle, whose work on the Napoleonic era is well known in this country, discusses the organization and administration of Soviet archives and the scrupulous care given to the preservation of documents related to every development in Russian history. This is only part of the work which the Soviet public demands of its historians. But in wartime, writes Tarle, the Soviet people expect clarification on such questions as "What is this Soviet Union, this Russia, against which the attack is now being made; what has been the relation of the Russian and German nations over the past 200 years?" In answering these questions, Tarle concludes that Soviet historians will provide renewed strength born of knowledge and pave the way for the destruction of that innocence which makes one powerless.

In an extraordinary and beautifully written essay on Soviet literature—an essay that will not bear mere summarizing—Alexei Tolstoy lifts to new peaks the science of literary criticism. The encyclopedic range of his information, his insight into the work of Russian writers, the relation of that work to different stages in the growth of Soviet society, were for me endlessly fascinating. I shall not say more about this essay except that those who fail to read it will be missing an important means of understanding our great ally.

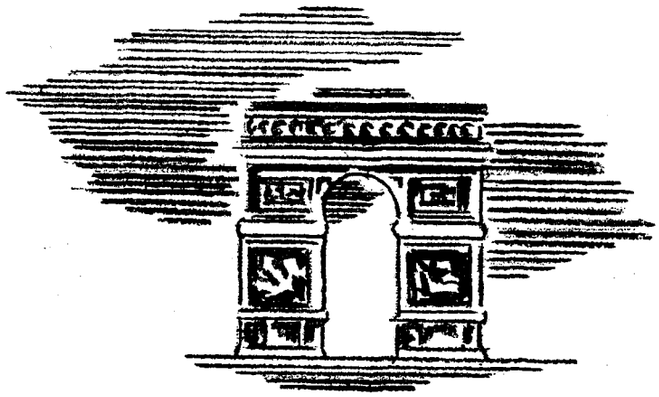
All these contributions in addition to *Science & Society's* regular departments make this summer issue a breath of fresh, invigorating air.

JOHN STUART.

Propaganda and News

THE GOEBBELS EXPERIMENT, *by Derrick Sington and Arthur Weidenfeld. Yale University Press. $3.*

ADDRESSING the convention of the American Newspaper Guild on June 14, 1943, Elmer Davis, head of the Office of War Information, even at this late date found it necessary to reprove American newspapers for publishing "so-called news broadcasts from enemy sources" because these Goebbels handouts were not news but "a shrewdly planned instrument for misinforming the public." The nature of the Axis propaganda that is being continuously planted in our press was analyzed last year



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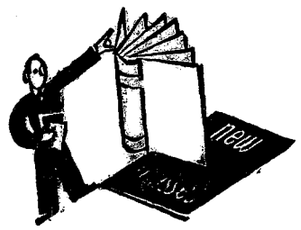
in Matthew Gordon's important but neglected book, *News Is a Weapon.*

Now we have an elaborate description, by Derrick Sington and Arthur Weidenfeld, of the vast but completely centralized propaganda apparatus that Goebbels has constructed. Basing themselves on German books and documents—most of which have hitherto been undescribed in English—and on German broadcasts as recorded apparently by various monitor services, the authors draw a clear picture of the structure of Goebbels' party-and-government machine. As a mechanism, Goebbels' work is a deadly marvel of thorough organization. Sington and Weidenfeld show us the wheels in motion. From the training of Nazi Party speakers for Party propaganda (to which great attention is paid because of the "Nazis' fundamental preference for the spoken over the written word") to the apparatus for the control of the press, radio, cinema, theater, literature, architecture, the graphic arts, and music so that they might serve exclusively Nazi ends, the authors lay bare the blueprint of operation. It would seem that nothing is left to chance: "A special office was set up by Goebbels to handle all Party demonstrations," and there is a system of radio wardens that checks continuously on audience reaction to the broadcasting programs.

The general reader would perhaps have preferred less detail in the description of mechanism and more extended accounts of the *content* disseminated by the machine. Those chapters in which the authors expand their original plan to include the nature of the materials poured out are the most valuable. Especially interesting in this respect is the long section "Broadcasting in the Third Reich," with its account of the programs that go to Europe and overseas. The texts of the Nazi war songs, in all their boastful barrenness, are also given, I think for the first time in English, in a chapter on "Music as Propaganda."

How helpful it would have been to get more of the content of German propaganda can be seen from two passing references in this book. One deals with "an American book by Nathan Kaufman which had advocated mass sterilization of all Germans after Germany's defeat. Party propagandists were eager to make the book widely known to the German people, since it presented the German nation with an even more terrible alternative than that of fighting on under Hitler." Another quotes a passage from a Goebbels speech with a similar purpose, made on Nov. 6, 1941: "Our enemies have in store for us dissolution of our military and economic unity, regional dismemberment, enforced birth control to reduce our population to 10,000,000, or mass sterilization." An account of German reaction to what is said among the United Nations would be invaluable to our own technique of ideological warfare. It would even be instructive in our own



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struggle for national unity to know what other American books were translated into German by the controlled publishing industry. *Gone With the Wind* was certainly not the only American work to accord with Nazi ideals.

Sington and Weidenfeld's neglect of the content of the propaganda also leads them to a certain obtuseness. Surely they must know from their following of Nazi broadcasts that Goebbels has a special place in his heart for Martin Dies. Yet on several occasions they single out Dies for praise for having exposed Nazis in the United States! Evidently their analysis of Goebbels' apparatus did not sufficiently arm them intellectually against the disruptive Red-baiting technique—a weapon by no means patented by Goebbels.

Nevertheless, as a handbook on the German propaganda machine, *The Goebbels Experiment* is unquestionably a contribution to our store of knowledge of the enemy.

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES.

Unity: Today's Imperative

(*Continued from page* 12)

misinformed about the Moscow trials and the German-Soviet pact by those who then opposed our own evaluation of Russian policy. Rather do we think it essential to direct all thought and action toward the problem of eradicating anti-Communism as an infection which, in Mr. Magil's words, "has sapped national unity and debilitated progressive action." We appeal to Max Lerner, to the editors of the *Nation* and *New Republic*, to the American press, and the American public as a whole to join in this most urgent task.

What, specifically, can be done? The first duty of course is to refrain from Red-baiting in any form. But mere non-participation is no more sufficient in respect to Red-baiting than it is in respect to anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism. The second duty therefore is actively to combat Red-baiting at all times, including those occasions when it is directed specifically at the Communist Party. A third and corollary duty is to help create a political atmosphere in which Communists will be accepted as an integral part of American democratic life and the term "Communist" will lose all power as an epithet. There is no simple formula for this. It is evident that in private employment, the government service, the press, the labor movement, social and political life there is much to be done to gain for Communists equality with Americans of other political affiliations. Let it not be forgotten that the rights of all Americans are menaced, the war effort is weakened and the whole of American political life is clouded by the attempts to make of Communists a caste of untouchables.

A transformation cannot be achieved overnight, but certainly progressives can make a start by ceasing to recognize the

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political and psychological *cordon sanitaire* which reactionaries have built up around the Communist Party and all things actually or allegedly Communist. The extent to which this attitude has insinuated itself into enlightened circles is not always recognized. It causes liberal publications to weight negatively all references to American Communists and rarely, if ever, to intimate the slightest approval of any aspect of the party's program or work. It causes most leading newspapers and magazines to ignore the very existence of a book that has sold over 200,000 copies, a book dedicated to strengthening the war effort, merely because its author happens to be the leader of the Communist Party. In a letter to the New York *Times* Mr. Browder suggested among other things that one way of helping to lay "the specter of Communism" was to review his book *Victory—and After*. We make the same suggestion to the *Nation*, the *New Republic*, and all other publications interested in furthering unity. And it would also help if they would not assign this book to notorious anti-Communists.

We are here presenting not a program, but merely suggestions for constructive action. Others will no doubt amplify them. We realize that if there is to be a joint fight against the insidious Communist bugaboo there must be reciprocal obligations for Communists. Max Lerner sets down what he calls "four essential broad conditions of change" on the part of Communists. We do not accept the premises that lie behind these conditions; nor, on the other hand, can we speak for the Communist Party. But we are quite ready to agree that Communists as well as non-Communists "must focus on America in a context of internationalism"; that they "must focus on democracy and the democratic tradition"; that they must be "freely functioning minds, the heirs of all the ages of thought"; that they "must play fair on a moral level," both with themselves and others. And we are prepared to discuss these questions further.

But we want to underscore Mr. Magil's point that our country cannot afford to wait until all differences are fundamentally and finally resolved. It is not merely the future of the Communist Party that is involved, but in large measure the future of America. In a profound and urgent sense the war and its aftermath will be shaped by the extent to which we succeed or fail in liquidating anti-Communist ideology here and throughout the world. The compelling argument for united effort toward this end may be found in every city and village as our country stumbles bleakly toward the greatest rendezvous with destiny it has ever faced. History is not made by those with the longest memories, but by those who act wisely and boldly in the context of the problems of today.

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TWO FILMS ABOUT BATAAN

Joy Davidman compares "So Proudly We Hail" and "Bataan," with the honors going to the latter. Some conclusions about screen portrayal of women in battle.

FOR a really instructive parallel, take a look at *Bataan* and *So Proudly We Hail*. Both men and women fought on Bataan peninsula, men in combat and women in the shattered hospitals. One of these films tells you of the soldiers, the other of the nurses, and in superficial ways they are much alike—same combat photography, same backgrounds, same fiery hatred of the Japanese. Moreover, they have been handled with approximately equal writing, directing, and acting ability—the ability of competent if uninspired craftsmen. Yet one of them is considerably better than the other.

The difference is caused by our screen's frequent indulgence in misogyny. A strange word to use of an art which spends so much time adoring the female body; yet with that worship of the flesh there goes an unconscious contempt for the mind and spirit. The men who made *So Proudly We Hail* do not really regard women as equals. They regard love not as a stable, healthy relationship of adults, but as a coy adolescent excitement. And their prejudice destroys the film.

Such an attitude toward women is hard to discard. Given a real story about real women—eight army nurses on Bataan—the makers of *So Proudly We Hail* have suppressed the valuable and responsible work which nurses do, replacing it with courtship dances which go on amid shot and shell.

Girl number one—supposedly the most reliable of the group—leaves her post to spend the night in the jungle with a soldier. But that's perfectly all right, as Nothing Happened—she did not impair her marriageability. Dereliction of duty doesn't matter, since courtship, in a woman's life, is expected to take precedence over all other activities. Later she marries her soldier, honeymooning on Corregidor under a simply gorgeous full moon. When she hears he is dead, she has nothing left to live for—not her own value as a person, not her desperately important job, not the subordinates who depend on her. So she falls into a coma, from which only a letter proving him alive can rouse her.

Girl number two—yes, she falls in love with a Marine. A cute Marine, as played by one Sonny Tufts. Cute backchat, however, seems singularly out of place when you are embarking wounded men under artillery fire. Girl number three—well, she *was* in love with a flyer, but he was killed at Pearl Harbor. So *she* has nothing to live for, and she blows herself and some Japanese to Kingdom Come in a very incredible way.

SOME of this love-play is halfway genuine, especially the third girl's tragedy—Veronica Lake still cannot act, but she is beginning to try. The falsity lies in making love-play the entire business, the entire emotional concern, of nurses whose real job on Bataan was caring for wounded men. There are perhaps five quick transitional shots of actual hospital work in *So Proudly We Hail;* the rest is amorousness. In war, lovemaking is a matter of casual and desperate odd moments. The important thing, need we say, is winning a battle, not a husband. Nor do our army nurses stop functioning as nurses and women because of a personal loss, however tragic. *The Girl From Leningrad* was more typical of them than this Hollywood film; believing her lover dead, its heroine nevertheless went resolutely ahead with her job.

India has long abandoned the notion that women ought to commit suttee when they lose a man. The makers of *So Proudly We Hail*, however, seem to have inherited the idea. Their eight nurses keep up a constant whine of self-pitying complaints, coming to life only when a lover needs them. It is considered remarkable that they can perform any adult tasks, as Samuel Johnson said of the dog walking on his hind legs; you admire him not because he does it well, but because he does it at all. Some film-makers, apparently, are not yet convinced that a responsible woman is anything but an unsexed freak; and they had better take a good look at American womanhood in the factories, or they will go on wasting our time with such worthless trivia as *So Proudly We Hail.*

The men of *Bataan*, in contrast, are allowed to do their job soberly and with dignity. Their film is encumbered with melodrama, like the other. Yet it does deal

Waiting for another Japanese attack. A scene from "Bataan."

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with real and vital happenings of this war; its men don't stop fighting to run off and cuddle somebody in the moonlit jungle, nor would they be respected if they did. With its intelligent treatment of the Negro and Filipino soldier, it reaches new screen heights. Here are two brave and clear-headed men, presented without a trace of the racist sneer. And the battle scenes are remarkable for savage realism. True, it is slower and vaguer and clumsier than it need be. All the more does the basic health of its approach stand out beside the basic morbidity of *So Proudly We Hail.*

"BATAAN" is a pretty good film, on the whole. Unfortunately, it is also a pretty bad plagiarism, being lifted in detail from John Ford's ten-year-old masterpiece, *The Lost Patrol.* This story of desert troopers defending an oasis against Arabs has been shifted to a Philippine bridgehead, complete with death scenes, bits of dialogue, and even the spectacular ending.

Studios are now trying to end the pernicious double feature by issuing feature films that are two hours or more in length. It is an admirable endeavor. But you cannot make a good two-hour film simply by blowing up a ninety-minute film one size bigger; you have to start with a larger conception. *Bataan,* like some others of our current long films, suffers from a naive overstuffing; it takes half an hour to set its stage, something that *The Lost Patrol* accomplished in five seconds with one camera shot and one rifle shot. There never was a more beautifully economical picture than this early John Ford work. It had not a word or a camera angle too much; and yet its soldiers were so sharply individualized that I remember them as real people, even today. In one scene a young aviator stepped from his plane and was promptly shot by the concealed Arabs. He stammered four surprised words and fell dead. That was his only appearance in the film, and yet you felt you really knew that boy.

The aviator of *Bataan* is expanded into a permanent installation. He wanders through the whole film and does a good deal of talking; he is given a melodramatic hero's death, crashing his plane into a bridge which must be destroyed. Yet he has no personality at all. Not by one line, one gesture, one bit of action is he distinguished as an individual from the other soldiers. In fact, most of them form a faceless group labeled US Army; even Thomas Mitchell, brilliant actor though he is, cannot emerge from the mob. The only exceptions are the Negro soldier, made memorable by the quiet force with which Kenneth Spencer plays him, and a stray sailor who is the film's one piece of character-drawing, delightfully interpreted by the newcomer Robert Walker.

A film can be marred by too much ac-

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tion as well as too much talk, and *Bataan* rather overwhelms you with Japanese attacks, till you long for a soldier to stand still long enough to be recognized. Clumsy editing does some damage, too; apparently to lengthen the film, its editors have used many repetitive shots of the same scene. Yet, though by the side of *The Lost Patrol* it seems a badly blurred carbon copy, *Bataan* has much genuine effectiveness and excitement. The profound seriousness of its material is the source of its power—it would have taken far worse treatment to rob such a story of value. Men died on Bataan, men who could not be relieved. Here we see them die, covering the retreat of an American army. It is not comforting, but it has its effect.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

★

THE bigger the lie, said Hitler, the better it will succeed. And unwearying repetitions of the Trotskyites' colossal slander of *Mission to Moscow* apparently have had unmerited success in influencing members of the Writers' War Board. The American people, rejecting the conspiracy of calumny, acclaim the film; in the last weeks the *Daily Worker* and other papers have printed many letters from distinguished men and women in all walks of life, rejoicing over the first screen revelation that Russia is not the sinister mystery that the fifth columnists paint. But some of those to whom the people might well look for guidance have succumbed to the conspirators.

Men of genuine good will cannot fail to detect the hysterical malice behind the Eastman-Lyons-Dewey attacks. Men who have troubled to study the real history of the Moscow trials will instantly identify misrepresentations. And men who know the slanderers' records are aware that their claim to be "unbiased authorities" on the Soviet Union is grotesque both in the adjective and in the noun. Yet a big lie has diabolical power. And in this instance it seems that even the intelligent members of the Writers' War Board have succumbed. They declare that *Mission to Moscow* "falsifies facts"—though they do not show how. Rex Stout, the Board's president, previously went on record in hearty approval of the film. But the lie reached him. The Board's film reviewer turned in a glowing report. But the lie intervened. F.P.A., Pearl Buck, Clifton Fadiman, and the others should know how many newspaper slanders of Russia have been demonstrated false lately. But old prejudices are strong.

Irresponsibility and bias in a government war agency are frightening things. *Quis custodet ipsos custodes*—who is to guard our guardians? Surely not the Eastmans and Lyonses.

J. D.

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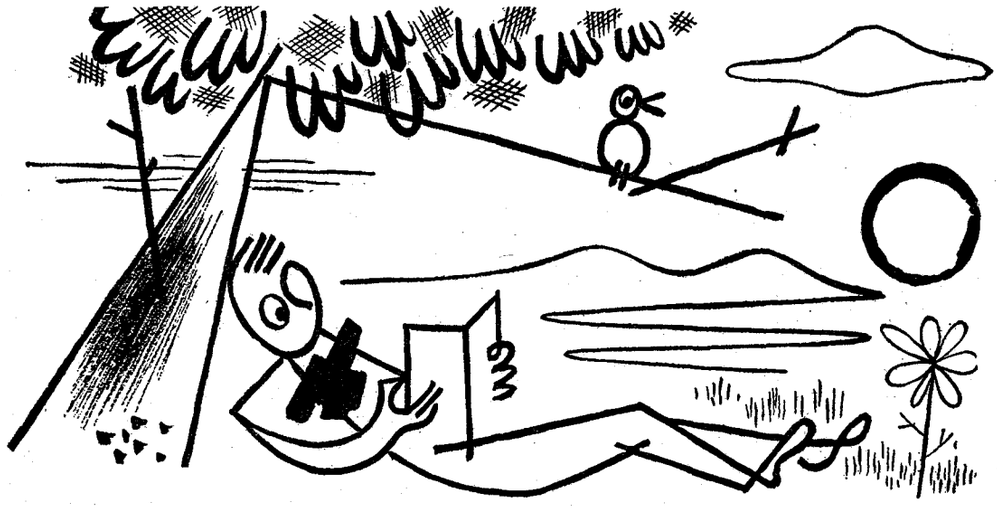

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